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Contents of Volume XIV

Number 1, January, 1915

North Carolina's Taxation Problem a		AGE
	Charles Lee Raper	1
The War Revenue Act of 1914	Harry Edwin Smith	15
Plantation Memories of the Civil War.	Philip Alexander Bruce	28
What is Wrong with American Litera	iture?	
	H. St. G. Tucker	47
William Cowper Brann	Hyder E. Rollins	53
The New Feminism in Literature	H. Houston Peckham	68
Lord Granville's Line	Alfred J. Morrison	75
Book Reviews		81
Notes and News		98
Number 2, Ap	pril, 1915	
Some Effects of the European War up	pon American Industries, William H. Glasson	101
Armageddon and the Peace Advocate	Roland Hugins	116
The Poetry of Alfred Noyes	John Owen Beaty	126
Tricks of Elizabethan Showmen	T. S. Graves	138
Recent Federal Trust Legislation	George A. Stephens	149
The Peabody Fund and its Early Open	ration in North Carolina, Edgar W. Knight	. 168
Some Recent Southern Verse	H. Houston Peckham	. 181
Book Reviews		. 186
Notes and News		200

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XIV

Number 3, July, 1915

Letters of a Virginia Cadet at Wes	st Point, 1859-1861,
	Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A. Introduction by Kate Mason Rowland 201
The Tragic Art of Ballad Poetry.	Edward Godfrey Cox 220
Socialist Participation in the Wor	rld War,
	Harry Emerson Wildes 237
Portrait of a Lady: Eugenie de G	uerin. Gamaliel Bradford 246
Berkeley's Influence on Popular	Literature-A Review of a
Review	C. A. Moore 263
Madison Cawein	H. Houston Peckham 279
Book Reviews	285
Notes and News	297
Number 4,	October, 1915
Sidney Lanier-A Study	Henry E. Harman 301
Rhetoric in the Graduate School.	James Routh 307
Walks and Ways in Weimar	Paul Emerson Titsworth 315
French Criticism of Poe	George D. Morris 324
Letters of a Virginia Cadet at We	est Point, 1859-1861,
	Major Thomas Rowland,
	C. S. A. Introduction by Kate Mason Rowland 330
The Work of the General Educati	ion Board in the South,
	Mrs. John D. Hammond. 348
The Progress and Economic Influ	uence of the War,
	William Thomas Laprade 358
Glimpses of Life in the Appalachi	The second secon
	Elizabeth Wysor Klingberg 371
	C. A. Moore 379
Notes and News	



South Atlantic Quarterly

North Carolina's Taxation Problem and Its Solution

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The voters of North Carolina have expressed their opinion against the proposal to change the constitution so as to allow the legislature the power to make classes of taxables and rates, and so as to permit the separation of the state's sources of revenue from those of the county, the municipality, and the other local units of government. It was the thought of not a few citizens that our glaring defects of assessment could be remedied more effectively by such a change in our fundamental law. The requirement of a uniform rate of tax upon all kinds of property, however different in their nature, their value to the community, or their tangibility to the assessor's eye, was believed by them to be a serious obstacle to taxation reform. And the requirement that the state and its local units should each levy rates upon the same property meant to them confusion and injustice in taxation.

The voters have spoken, and, for the time at least, we must make our reforms under the authority of the old constitution. Those who labored for the amendment to the constitution need not, however, be discouraged. We can make big reforms even though our fundamental law remains unchanged. We can do these things by creating new machinery of assessment. Our legislature all the time has had the authority to make provision for any machinery of assessment it has deemed necessary or best.

There are, I think, only two ways for North Carolina to travel in order to reach important reform in her system of taxation: (1) New machinery of assessment working under a new constitution, which grants the legislature the power to make classification of taxables and rates and to separate the sources of revenue. (2) New machinery of assessment working under the old constitution, which requires a uniform rate of tax upon all kinds of property, and which causes the state, the county, and the municipality to procure much of their revenues from the same source—the general property tax. The first of these ways is not now open to North Carolina. The failure of the voters to accept the proposed amendment keeps this way blocked. We must travel along the second way. We cannot, for a time, change our constitution. Neither can we endure the old defects of assessment and taxation. We must change that which we have the authority to change—machinery.

A number of our states have worked out a comparatively successful system of assessment without the application of separation. Only seven of them have attempted to apply this principle, and they have, with the exception of Vermont, much more of the corporate form of industries than North Carolina has. The legislature in fourteen states has the right to make classification, but in only six of these has it really put the right into application.

North Carolina is, therefore, not alone in her effort to bring forth a more effective and just system of taxation without the power to classify taxables or to separate the sources of revenue. She is, in fact, in the company of a large majority of her sisters. Some of these sisters have done remarkable things for taxation reform, though they have constitutions similar to that of North Carolina. West Virginia, Kansas, and Wisconsin have each done distinctive things in the way of reform, and neither one has the power to classify property or to separate the sources of revenue.

I am, therefore, willing to accept, at least for the time, the vote of the people on the tax amendment, and also to accept the implication of their vote that taxation shall be reformed through the avenue of a new machinery of assessment rather than through the avenue of a new constitution. We are just where we were when the senate of the last legislature was ready to pass a bill creating new machinery of assessment, and

when the finance committee of the lower house was urging the members of that body to accept the same proposition as that contained in the senate bill—with the exception of a single point of difference. The opponents of the tax amendment have now made public declaration of their desire for reform through the channel of more effective assessment machinery.

The defects of the present system are largely of assessment rather than of taxation. But assessment, in practice, depends to a considerable extent upon the kinds of taxes and their rates—as to whether the rates are such as to encourage or discourage a fair assessment of taxable values. And taxes depend upon assessment; the rate reaches only the property or privilege that is listed on the books.

THE OLD TAXES MUST FOR A TIME REMAIN

Since the amendment has failed, North Carolina must continue to have her old system of taxes—at least to a large degree. She must have a poll tax levied upon each male of 21-50 years, unless he is poor enough to be exempted by the county commissioners; and its rate must be equated into the rate levied on general property. She must still have the uniform rate upon all kinds of property and this tax must continue to be the chief source of revenue for the state and its local units. She may have, in the future, as in the past, taxes on privilege, franchise, inheritance, and income.

The revenue from the poll tax is not the most important to the state, the county, or the municipality, though to each of these units it is considerable; and it is comparatively easy of levy and certain of collection. In 1912 the total from this source for schools and pensions amounted to \$525,004, and for the municipalities, \$131,081.

The revenue from general property, taxed at a uniform rate, is by far the largest source which the state and the local units have. Nearly 75 per cent of the revenue of the state and its local units in the United States as a whole comes from this tax; more than 50 per cent of the state's revenue. North Carolina's percentage is no exception to this rule. In 1912 the state received a little more than half of its revenue from this source; the municipalities, about 71 per cent; the counties,

for pensions, schools, and general purposes, about 90 per cent. The rate on general property, as prescribed by the constitution for the ordinary purposes of government, is for the state and county combined never to exceed 66 2-3 cents on the \$100 of assessed property; for extraordinary purposes, it may be practically anything the people or their representatives may see fit to make it. In 1912 the highest actual rate for the state and county purposes combined was 123 cents, in Henderson County; the lowest was 60 cents, in Johnston and Martin counties. The rate for the municipality is an extra one. This ranged in 1912 from \$2, in Southern Pines, to nothing, in some of the small towns. These rates on general property are the most important ones from the point of view of revenue, and the assessment of the taxable value upon which they are levied is the big task of the assessment machinery.

The poll tax and the general property tax are compulsory levies under the old constitution. The legislature may make levies upon trades or professions, franchises, incomes, and inheritances. And upon each of these groups of sources the legislature, without much system or philosophy, has built up groups of taxes.

The revenue derived from the license taxes, which the legislature now levies upon more than forty trades or professions, ranging in dignity from that of peddlers or fortune tellers to that of lawyers and doctors, and upon some of which the local governments also levy, is sufficient to attract the attention both of the government and the tax-payer. Since these taxes are not required by the constitution, the legislature exercises its own discretion as to what trade or profession it will tax, and as to what rate it may determine to levy or allow the local units to levy. Such taxes are easy of assessment and collection, and are just provided they are levied upon the ability to pay or the need of special regulation or protection by the government. While this source of revenue is not to be compared with that of general property in the inequalities of its assessment, still more effective machinery than we now have could easily make it more productive of revenue and less inequitable.

The group of privilege taxes, like that of the license taxes, is still chaotic. The legislature has built up this group without

careful thought. Railroads are taxed upon the basis of their gross earnings, and the local governments cannot place a levy upon them. The express companies must pay a state tax on the basis of their mileage, and the municipality may also levy a rate. Telegraph companies are also taxed on the basis of mileage, and the county is forbidden to make a levy. Telephone companies, on their gross receipts, and corporations, on their franchise, are taxed only by the state. Both the state and the county may tax marriages—a privilege tax which can have no other reason of existence than that of revenue.

Both the license taxes and the privilege taxes are relatively certain of assessment and collection. In this characteristic, they are materially different from the taxes on general property, inheritance, or income. But as yet they have not been considered with the utmost care, either from the point of view of revenue to the state or its local units, or from the point of view of the effects of the rates upon business development. This is notably true in the case of the privilege or franchise taxes on the public service and other corporations. Taxes upon these should always be according to their ability to pay, never as a penalty for their operation.

North Carolina may continue to have an income tax, but revenue from this source to the state—and the state alone may now levy such a tax—is not important. In 1912 only \$44,113 came from this source. Since the constitution forbids the legislature to levy a tax upon the income of property which is taxed as property, and, since we believe in a fairly large exemption from such a levy—\$1,250—we have no reason to expect important sums from this source, however much the rate may be graduated.

The inheritance tax, on the other hand, should yield an important sum. It is a fair tax, and, with effective machinery of assessment, it becomes productive. So far it has been quite insignificant in North Carolina—in 1912 only \$5,264. Many states have such a tax, and in a number it has become a fertile source of revenue. North Carolina now levies a rate ranging from 1 per cent to 10 per cent, depending upon the remoteness of kinship, but, since its levy and collection are in the hands of

the clerk of the county court, who is under practically no state supervision, the yield in most years is insignificant.

ASSESSMENT AND COLLECTION

The assessment of taxables is fundamentally necessary for any system of taxation. The taxes are levied only upon the valuations, whether of property, income, privilege, or inheritance, actually put upon the books. The task of the collection of taxes is a simple one, as compared with that of the assessment of valuations upon which they are levied. The power of the government to force collection is practically automatic; taxes when once levied must be paid, unless the circumstances are most peculiar. The act of assessment, to be effective, can never be formal or automatic; it requires expert skill to do the difficult thing of discovering taxables and appraising their valuations. North Carolina, as well as other states, has seen fit to do the illogical thing-to give the large authority and pay to the officer who collects that which is easy to collect, and the smaller power and allowance for the performance of the more difficult task. In the collection of taxes, the government takes the initiative and applies the strong arm of its power. In the assessment of taxables, the government leaves it largely to the citizen to list his property and put valuations upon it; and its supervision of assessment is largely perfunctory. The work of assessing values for taxation has, therefore, been performed for the most part with remarkable ineffectiveness-a fact known in every county and township in North Carolina.

OLD MACHINERY OF ASSESSMENT

What is our present machinery of assessment? The work of placing property on the tax books and of fixing its valuation is done by the township assessor or assessors; each township has one assessor, three every fourth year, when the real property is re-assessed. This officer receives the insignificant pay of from \$2 to \$3 a day for only a few days—25 to 50 working days—in a year. He is appointed by the board of county commissioners. He must be a freeholder, and is most frequently chosen because he has no other or no more profitable job, or because he is willing to keep valuations low, for the sake of his

own property or that of his friends or that of his community. It is such an officer who performs the difficult task of discovering and assessing taxables; and the assessments made by such an official are for the most part final. There is in each county, to be sure, a county board of equalization, composed of the county commissioners and the chairmen of the township assessors of real estate. This board has the power to raise or lower the valuations as made by the township assessors, but a real equalization of their valuations is practically never made except in the rarest instances. And no severe criticism should be put upon the board because it does not perform the duties, which, from its very composition, it cannot effectively perform, and which it is not sufficiently paid to do.

There is also a state-wide body, the State Corporation Commission, which acts as the State Bank Commission and as the State Tax Commission. This body, which is busily engaged in the work of regulating corporations, particularly the public service corporations, and supervising the operations of the state banks, cannot possibly devote much time or thought to the task of supervising, directing, and aiding the local assessors. Neither has it the time or the thought necessary for the most difficult task of equalizing the assessment valuations as between the different counties in the state. The fact that the legislature provides only \$500 extra pay for each of the three members is, I think, fair proof of the relative smallness of the labors which they are expected to perform for the assessment of taxable values or their equalization. This body assesses the taxables of the corporations, and in most cases with reasonable efficiency, but it rarely achieves results when it acts as a state board of equalization or when it exercises general supervision and direction of the local assessors.

DEFECTS IN THE OLD SYSTEM

(1) The state board is loaded with its other tasks—those of a state corporation commission and of a state bank commission. The present labors in these three large fields are by far too great for any one board to perform them all with satisfaction to its own members or to the public. And the labors in each of these fields should have an important increase in the

immediate future; I believe that it is now clear that the legislature should enlarge the powers of the Corporation Commission, so as to make it a complete public service commission, with ample power of regulation over all the public services of the state, whether state-wide or local.

- (2) The local assessors are chosen for only a few days in the year, and are so inefficiently paid that we cannot reasonably expect them to do effectively the most difficult work of discovering and ascertaining taxable values. They are rarely chosen with care, and just as rarely do they possess the skill or disposition to render expert service. They do their work without accurate standards and without careful direction and supervision. We now have nearly a thousand such officers, each really a law unto himself as to the valuation of taxables, performing the most vital task in our taxation system.
- (3) The county board of equalization, composed as it is, and paid as it is, cannot be expected to render the expert service necessary for a real equalization of the valuations as between the different citizens of a township and as between the different townships of a county. And in practically every instance it does not do the unexpected thing—it does not equalize the assessed valuations.
- (4) Self-assessment by the owner of the taxables, which at best is always inaccurate and unfair, is under the old system really final. It stands unrevised. Under it we have the following results: (a) The more conscientious citizen places higher valuations upon his taxables, the less conscientious, lower valuations. (b) The same kind of property goes on the assessment books at valuations varying from 3 per cent of the real value to 100 per cent. (c) Some property, even as tangible as land, is not assessed at all. (d) One kind of taxable is penalized, while another escapes the burden of taxation; the more tangible forms bear a larger share, the less tangible forms a smaller share, or no share at all—the taxes on dogs not infrequently produce more revenue than those on the moneys, bonds, and stocks. (e) Moneys and securities, if assessed at all, must go on the books at par, while lands and other tangible forms as an average are put on the books at from 20 per cent to 60 per cent of their sale value. (f) One township makes a

larger contribution to the county than its proportionate share, another, a much smaller. (g) One county pays a larger proportionate share of the state's burden than another—a good many of the now famous "pauper counties" are really well-to-do. Even as tangible a form of property as land is assessed in one county at 20 per cent of its real value, in another, at 60 per cent. (h) A premium is placed upon inequality, injustice, and even dishonesty.

NEED OF REMEDIES

It has come to be clear, that prevention is better than cure. We should, therefore, put forth our best efforts to prevent such abuses as now shoot through and through our system of assessment and taxation. In North Carolina, we must do as the citizens of other states have done—make the effort to prevent such defects by providing a machinery which has the capacity, the independence, and the courage to fix the assessment valuations at the start as nearly accurate as possible. We must acknowledge that the attempt to eliminate such inequalities as we have long had by the method of equalizing the assessments after they are put on the books is, at best, very ineffective, if not, indeed, altogether vain.

The government, in the future, should not leave, as it has done in the past, so much to the disposition of the citizen. It should still recognize his right to a voice in the assessment of his property for tax purposes, but it should take the lead in putting his taxables on the books and in fixing just valuations upon them-allowing him the privilege to ask for a revaluation in case he thinks his property has been assessed unjustly. We must make provision for local assessors, who have the capacity and courage to discover taxables and to ascertain their true value. We must, through our state government, supply them with standards of valuations and all possible sources of information as to real values. The work of assessment also needs more centralization at Raleigh, less in the county court house—a centralization designed to protect the more honest citizen and more tangible property, designed to secure greater equality of assessment as between different citizens, different kinds of property, and different communities, not for

the sake of state tyranny over the affairs of the citizen or his locality.

Can we in North Carolina not come to the conviction, that no system of assessment is effective and just unless it has, as its heart and brain, courageous and well-paid officials? The experiences of other states seem to compel us to such a conviction, if, indeed, our own experiences with inefficiency and injustice may not. May we not follow, more or less closely, the tendency of the more prosperous and progressive states, at least so far as to make provision for a State Tax Commission, with powers sufficient to achieve, through supervision and direction of the local assessors, more efficiency and justice in assessments? May we not abandon our cherished idea that the township should be our unit of assessment, and adopt a larger and more effective unit? May we not at least reduce the number of assessors-now from three to twenty to the county, each with his own standard of valuations-to one to the county, and make this one a permanent and business-like official? Can we not do as much as Ohio has done? Ohio, for the sake of efficiency and justice, has abandoned the old idea of local assessment. In 1910, after many experiences with inequality, ineffectiveness, and iniquity, she created a state tax commission. Three years later its authority was extended, so as to cover the official acts of every assessor. The work of local assessment is now performed by a deputy, who is responsible to the State Tax Commission; complaints about valuations are now heard by a district board of complaint, which is appointed by the State Tax Commission.

NEED OF NEW STATE MACHINERY OF ASSESSMENT

So great has been the failure of self-assessment under the direction of ineffective local assessors, that state after state has decided to make the central control more powerful. More than twenty states have created a permanent office of a state tax commission or commissioner, and many of these are among the progressive and prosperous states. This office in a number of states has been endowed with large powers over assessments and over the equalization of assessments. It is its duty to determine the assessment valuation of certain kinds of

property, and to supervise and direct the work of the local assessors who make the valuations of the other kinds of taxables.

A study of the experiences of these states leads one to the following conclusions:

- (1) An elective commission or commissioner has been, upon the whole, a failure. Their tasks should be divorced from politics as far as possible. They demand, for effective performance, business men, who cannot make a good political campaign, and who ought not to have a "political backing" for their office. There have been, to be sure, a few cases of notable success where the work of assessment has been under the supervision of an *ex-officio* (elected) board, but the success has lasted only for a time.
- (2) In the great majority of states which have commissioners or commissions, these officials are appointed by the governor, in most cases with the consent of the senate. Such officials, when their terms have been sufficiently long, when they have been as non-partisan and as capable as possible, and when their powers have been sufficiently large, have been successful without a single exception. Those of Kansas, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, are of this type, and they are notable for their effectiveness.
- (3) When such officials have devoted all their time and thought to assessment and taxation, there have been immediately significant increases in assessment valuations, ranging from 50 per cent, in Indiana, to six-fold, in Kansas.

The same study of the experiences of the states which have had tax commissioners and tax commissions clearly proves, I think, that North Carolina needs a commission of three members. A commission could more effectively and equitably perform our difficult tasks than could one commissioner. The governor should, perhaps with the consent of the senate, appoint them. The term of one member should be two years, of another, four years, of another, six years; and after the expiration of the first terms, six years each. The members should be as non-partisan as possible, and not more than two of them should be of the same political party; and they should

be men intimately acquainted with business and, if practicable, with matters of taxation. They should devote all their time to their official duties. Only incompetence or malfeasance in office should cause their removal. To secure such men, it would be, I think, necessary to pay them salaries as large as \$4,000. The salaries of tax commissioners range from \$2,500, in Georgia, to \$5,000, in Wisconsin, Ohio, and New York.

The State Tax Commission should be endowed with power and authority: (1) to exercise general supervision over the whole system of assessment and taxation, (2) to examine candidates for the office of county or district assessors, and appoint them, (3) to prescribe rules for the assessors and formulate standards of assessment valuations for their use, as well as advise and instruct them and direct their work, (4) to require the county or municipal officers to supply all available information as to the real value of taxables, (5) to summon witnesses and to take depositions of witnesses as to actual values, as well as visit the assessment districts, (6) to assess the taxable values of the public service and other corporations, (7) to order re-assessment by local assessors, and to hear complaints about assessments, (8) to equalize, by lowering or raising, the assessed valuations as between counties or other assessment districts of the state, (9) to have specific supervision over the privilege, license, income, and inheritance taxes, (10) to begin and direct proceedings or prosecutions to enforce all the assessment and tax laws.

NEED OF NEW LOCAL MACHINERY OF ASSESSMENT

In our present system, the township assessor is by far the most vital agent. He holds his office for only a few days in each year, and his pay is too small to command the services of an expert in values. Our local unit of assessment should be made, I think, much larger—into a county, or, perhaps, still better, into a district composed of several counties. It should be sufficiently large to make it practicable to maintain a permanent office and to employ a capable and courageous officer for it. The district assessor should be an expert in values and should have authority sufficient to fix valuations for assessment purposes as nearly as they really are as possible. True valuation, not

favoritism to any special citizen or interest, should be his only ideal. His salary should be commensurate with the size and responsibility of his tasks and duties—perhaps from \$1,500 to \$2,500 a year; and he should be allowed as many deputies as his district may need. He should be appointed by the State Tax Commission, and should be responsible to it, to serve for a term of say from four to six years, or for good behavior, should the constitution permit it. I have suggested that the district assessor be appointed by the State Tax Commission, as the method best suited to secure the services of a capable man. In some states he is elected, but, unless such an officer is responsible to the State Tax Commission, we have the condition of divided responsibility and, consequently, of inefficiency, if not, indeed, injustice.

The new machinery which I have taken the liberty to suggest for North Carolina is by no means untried. The State Tax Commission proposed is substantially the one that has worked effectively in such progressive states as Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Kansas, and, with a membership of one man, has had a notable success in West Virginia. May it not be a success in North Carolina? The constitution permits the creation of such state machinery. For such a commission to be established, or for it to labor with success, it is not necessary to have the right to classify taxables or to separate the sources of revenue. Wisconsin, Kansas, and West Virginia, among the foremost examples of efficient and just assessment and taxation in the United States, have found such a commission a decided success, and they do not have classification or separation.

RESULTS OF NEW MACHINERY IN OTHER STATES

May I give, in brief, the results of the West Virginia experiment? West Virginia has had for ten years a State Tax Commissioner, who receives a salary of \$4,000. She also has had a permanent county assessor, who is paid from \$1,000 to \$2,100, depending upon the amount of taxables in his county, and who, though elected, is responsible to the State Tax Commissioner. What have been the achievements of her new machinery? In 1904, under the old system of local assessment,

the total of the assessed valuations of all kinds of property amounted to only \$278,829,659; under the new system this had grown by 1909 to \$1,063,708,474. Nor was this all. The rate in 1904 for all the divisions of government combined was as an average \$2.15; in 1909 it was only 86 cents. And the new machinery is now popular in West Virginia.

The Kansas experiment with new machinery of assessment, at work under the old constitution, has been even more remarkable. Kansas created new machinery in 1907—a commission of three members, endowed with considerable power over the county assessor—an elective officer. The assessed valuations made in 1907 indicate the inefficiency of the old system of local self-assessment; those made in 1908 show the strength of the new system:

	-,	1907	1908
(1)	Real estate\$	269,154,500	\$1,573,048,790
(2)	Personal property	78,854,269	474,191,255
(3)	Public service property	77,272,445	404,320,352
	Total\$	425,281,214	\$2,451,560,397

And Kansas has ceased to make vigorous complaint about the injustice of her taxation, as well as about the insufficiency of her revenue. She had the option to lower her tax rate, or to continue her old rate and spend the enlarged revenue for other public work. She made the choice of increased public service, rather than a lower tax rate.

May North Carolina not reasonably expect results similar to those in West Virginia and Kansas, even though she does not allow the legislature the power to provide for the classification of taxables and rates and for the separation of the sources of revenue?

The War Revenue Act of 1914

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When the Underwood tariff act was approved October 3, 1913, it was generally supposed that Congress had completed its taxation policy for the immediate future, probably for the period of the present administration. This law had reduced the rates on many imported articles, so that it was not expected that the receipts from customs duties would be as high as they had been under the Payne-Aldrich tariff. The same act, however, had levied a tax on the income of individuals. It also eliminated from exemption from the corporation tax those corporations having a net income of less than \$5,000. The framers of the act had, therefore, expected sufficient income from these two sources to offset the decrease in customs receipts. Mr. Underwood, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, states that during the first nine months the new tariff law was in operation, from October, 1913, to June 30, 1914, the receipts from this source were \$22,000,000 in excess of what the authors of the law had expected. It seems therefore that the Democratic majority in Congress had not had under consideration any additional taxation law until last August.

During the latter part of July, war broke out which soon involved all the larger and some of the smaller nations of Europe. As an immediate result of this war, commerce became paralyzed and imports to the United States from these European countries began to decline. During the month of August there was a falling off of \$10,629,538 in import duties as compared with the corresponding month of the year 1913. President Wilson, thinking that in all probability this decrease would continue in about the same proportion throughout the current fiscal year, and that if it did the loss of customs revenues would be "from sixty to one hundred millions," addressed a joint session of Congress on September 4, asking that an emergency taxation measure be passed. He urged that additional taxes should be levied which would produce \$100,000,000 annually. The Ways and Means Committee accordingly

prepared a bill which was reported to the House on September 21.

The debates in both the House and the Senate were very generally along party lines, the Democrats favoring the measure and the Republicans opposing it. The arguments of the opposition can be summarized under three heads. (1) The decrease in revenues was due to the mistaken tariff policy of the Democratic party and not to the war in Europe and, therefore, the Underwood act should be repealed and high tariffs restored. (2) There was on deposit with the various national banks of the country \$75,000,000 of federal government money which President Wilson admitted would meet all the needs of the Treasury for some time to come if it were withdrawn from the banks. It was argued, therefore, that this should be withdrawn instead of additional taxes being levied. (3) If more funds must be raised, they should be secured by means of a loan rather than by taxes.

Turning our attention to the first of these arguments, we find that numerous tables were presented to show that the decrease in customs duties was not the result of the war. The tariff returns for every month, except one, since the new law went into effect had shown a smaller revenue than the corresponding month of the year before. The one exception was the month of May when the increase had been scarcely \$400,000, while the decreases had ranged from \$700,000 in June to nearly \$10,000,000 in February. This, the opposition said, was conclusive evidence that the decrease in customs receipts was not due to the war but to the reduction of the tariff rates by the Underwood act. As further evidence that the war was not the cause of the trouble, they pointed out that, while in August the decrease in customs revenues over the same month of the previous year had been ten and one half million dollars, in September it had been only \$9,600,000. To this it was answered that the war breaking out so suddenly had temporarily paralyzed business, so that there was scarcely any trading in August, but that, when the first shock was over, merchants abroad had hastened to dispose of the supplies which they had on hand before the ocean was completely closed to traffic. Moreover there was a large amount of imports held in the bonded warehouses, on which the duties had not been paid. Much of this was withdrawn in September, and this tended to swell the revenues for that month; but, with the possibilities of ocean shipping largely cut off, this

supply would soon become exhausted.

The supporters of the measure replied that if the Underwood tariff act had not been passed the Treasury would be threatened with a worse shortage than now seemed impending. Since we had been depending so largely on tariff revenues before October, 1913, if no change had been made in the laws, the decline in commerce would have cut more deeply into our revenues. As a matter of fact the customs receipts previous to August, 1914, had been greater than had been anticipated, and the income tax which had been levied to take the place of the higher tariffs now furnished a source of income which would not have been available under the old law. During the first nine months that the Underwood tariff was in operation there were \$206,500,000 collected at the ports. an average of \$22,900,000 per month. During the previous fiscal year the import duties had totaled \$318,891,396, an average of \$26,600,000 per month. The new law, however, had imposed the income tax and removed the exemption of small corporations from the corporation tax, so that the average monthly income from these sources for the time the law was in operation in 1914 was \$4,000,000. This together with the tariff collected made an average monthly revenue of \$26,-900,000 as against \$26,600,000 under the Payne-Aldrich tariff.

The reason for asking for extra taxes was not so much because of the falling off of imports in August, although that had suggested the probable need, as because of the prospect that so long as the European War lasted the imports from the countries engaged in the war would be materially reduced. Also there was the probability that, after the war ceased, industry would be so demoralized that there would be a scarcity of commodities to import. The dutiable imports from Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Russia, Servia, Montenegro, and Great Britain, not including the colonies of these countries, had been \$385,989,551, during the fiscal year 1914. On these there had been paid more than \$125,800,000 in tariff duties. If imports entirely ceased from these countries, there

would be a reduction of about \$125,000,000 in our revenues in the next year. It seemed probable that of the \$40,000,000 paid on imports from Great Britain, half might still be collected, but importations from the other countries would practically cease. There would then be a reduction in revenues of at least \$100,000,000, with no allowance made for the effect of the war on the trade with the colonies of these countries or with other European countries. The evidence seemed pretty conclusive, therefore, that the reduction in revenues was due to the war, and that the probable decrease of \$100,000,000 was an under estimate rather than an over estimate.

The opposition further argued that regardless of the decrease in revenues, there was no reason for levying an extra tax, because the Treasury did not need the funds. There had been, at various times during the Republican administration, deposits made by the federal government with the national banks to aid business in times of financial stringency. These deposits aggregated \$60,000,000 when Mr. Wilson was inaugurated, and since that time had been increased about \$15,000,000. So that in September, 1914, the total federal deposits with the various banks of the country were about \$75,000,000. The Republicans said that, if the revenues were insufficient to meet the necessary disbursements, these funds should be withdrawn rather than a new tax levied. President Wilson in his message to Congress anticipated this argument and gave the answer to it which was later reiterated by supporters of the administration. He said, these funds are "deposited, of course, on call. I need not point out to you what the probable consequences of inconvenience and distress and confusion would be if the diminishing income of the Treasury should make it necessary rapidly to withdraw these deposits. And yet without additional revenue that plainly might become necessary, and the time when it became necessary could not be controlled or determined by the convenience of the business of the country. It would have to be determined by the operations and necessities of the Treasury itself. Such risks are not necessary and ought not to be run. We can not too scrupulously or carefully safeguard a financial situation which is at best, while war continues in Europe, difficult and abnormal."

The third important point of the opposition was that if funds must be raised, instead of imposing new or additional taxes resort should be made to loans. Senator Smoot advocated issuing temporary certificates of indebtedness, and said that the administration hesitated to do this because it was fearful that money could not be borrowed at favorable rates. This argument was also anticipated by the President, and the answer he gave to it was the same as was later used by his supporters in Congress. It was that to sell bonds would make an "untimely and unjustified" demand upon the money market. It would be untimely because the capital which might be invested in bonds was needed for carrying on business, as were the government deposits in the banks. If funds were to be raised in this way it might be just as well to withdraw these deposits but neither should be done, because the business world needed all the capital available. It would be unjustifiable because unnecessary. The country is able to pay any reasonable tax, and as these funds are to be collected in small amounts, but frequently and not in a lump sum, there would be no injury nor inconvenience to business.

In the debates on the bill there were two other matters which brought about considerable discussion, but which were really aside from the main proposition before Congress. Lack of space permits only the mention of them. One was, the minority party took advantage of the circumstances to accuse the majority of not living up to their party platform when they promised economy in government. They said that this Congress had been more, rather than less, extravagant than the Republicans had been. The other was the attempt made by some members of Congress from the southern states to secure relief for the cotton growers. The war had closed to a considerable extent the market abroad for cotton, and so the southern planters found themselves with a large supply of cotton and no market for it. They desired therefore that aid should be extended to them, and Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia proposed an amendment to the revenue bill providing for the issue of bonds to the extent of \$250,000,000, the proceeds to be used by the government for the purchase of the surplus cotton. The amendment failed, however, to pass the Senate.

President Wilson in his address to Congress made no

20

suggestions as to what kinds of taxes should be levied, except that "such sources of revenue be chosen as will begin to vield at once and vield with a certain and constant flow." To the majority in the lower house of Congress the one available source seemed to be internal taxes. Suggestions were made that the rates of taxation on incomes be increased and made more rapidly progressive and also that the amount of income exempted should be reduced, but President Wilson objected to any tampering with the income tax law. So it was left unchanged. During the Civil War there had been developed a comprehensive system of internal taxes, and, as some of those taxes had been retained, most of the necessary machinery was available for levying and collecting such taxes. During the Spanish-American War when extra revenues were needed, an emergency internal revenue tax was levied which in 1900 produced \$105,374,227, and this was about what it was estimated would be necessary to meet the needs of the government for the next year. The Ways and Means Committee of the House, therefore, drew up a bill modeled very largely along the lines of the war measure of 1898.

The important points of distinction between the two were that the law of 1898 provided for a tax on the gross receipts of corporations refining sugar and petroleum; on the inheritance of personal property; stamp taxes on certain proprietary articles; and raised the rates on tobacco and cigars. These were not included in the Committee's bill, but there was a provision for a tax of two cents per gallon on gasoline, which was not in the act of 1898. As spirituous liquors furnish such a large part of our internal taxes and the tax seems to be reasonably sure of collection, they are generally thought of as a source which may be relied upon when extra revenues are needed. No extra taxes on this article were levied by the act of 1898, however, nor proposed by this bill of the Committee. It seems that they were not included in the act of 1898 because of the uncertainty when the act was passed as to how much extra revenue might be needed. Spirituous liquors were left as a resource which might be quickly called upon to yield large returns if necessary. The shortness of the war, however, made it unnecessary to levy any other emergency taxes. As the Ways and Means Committee followed this previous act in most other points, it did in this one also without explaining why, and, although suggestions were made in the debates in Congress that this was a very likely source of revenue which was being overlooked, no increases in liquor rates were made.

Although there was considerable debate in the House, and would have been more if a rule had not been adopted limiting the debate to seven hours, yet the questions discussed were not so much the details of the bill as the more general question whether any extra internal taxes should be levied at all. Consequently there were no important amendments added to the Committee's bill in the House.

When the House bill was reported to the Senate, however, it did not meet with the same treatment. The Finance Committee on reporting it back to the Senate recommended the elimination of certain items of taxation in the House bill. It reported that after thorough investigation it did not think that gasoline should be taxed, without giving any reason for its decision. It thought the tax on stockbrokers should be dropped because the stock exchange was closed and nothing pointed to a speedy opening. So the broker's source of income was cut off. It recommended that the tax on life insurance policies be not imposed, because the conditions did not seem to justify taxing a man on the very means he was using to provide for his dependents in case of his death. Also with regard to taxing mortgages it expressed the opinion that it seemed unfair to tax a man on an indebtedness even when secured by a mortgage. The tax on parlor car and sleeping car tickets of two cents seemed excessive, and the recommendation was made to reduce it to one cent. The Senate, therefore, on the recommendation of its Committee eliminated four taxes from the House Bill and reduced the rate on one.

The Finance Committee also reported amendments for increases in rates and for additional taxes. The House bill had provided for a rate of \$1.50 per barrel on beer, which was raised to \$1.75 by this Committee. The special tax on pawnbrokers was raised from \$20 to \$50, and the taxes on wines and on the manufacturers of tobacco were increased. Additional taxes were provided for by the Committee on rectified spirits, on commission merchants, on perfumery and cosmetics, on chewing gum and on sales of automobiles. The

Senate followed the lead of its Committee here also, acting favorably on all these increased rates and additional taxes, except the one on automobile sales. The only important change made by the Senate in the House bill, not recommended by the Finance Committee, was the reduction of the tax on bankers from \$2 per \$1,000 capital to \$1. Numerous other amendments of minor importance were made so that there were 98 in all to be considered by the conference committee of the two houses.

The Secretary of the Treasury had estimated that about \$105,000,000 would be collected in a year under the House bill. The reductions made in rates on bankers and on sleeping and parlor car tickets by the Senate would reduce the taxes over \$3,000,000, while dropping out the taxes on gasoline, stock brokers, life insurance, and mortgages would decrease the estimated tax about \$23,000,000. The increase in rates imposed by the Senate on fermented liquors, wines, pawnbrokers, and manufacturers of tobacco, cigars and cigarettes would yield over \$11,000,000 additional revenue, while the new taxes levied upon rectified spirits, commission merchants, perfumery and cosmetics, and chewing gum would produce over \$10,000,000. Representative Underwood therefore called the attention of the House to the fact that if the House should agree to the Senate amendments striking out the provisions of the House bill, and at the same time reject the provisions of the Senate bill increasing the rates, the bill would fall far short of producing the revenues needed by the Government. On the other hand if the provisions of the House bill were insisted upon and at the same time the increases in the Senate bill were agreed to, the act would provide much more revenue than it was estimated the government would need for current expenses.

The conference committee recommended with regard to the more important amendments, that the tax on beer be left as provided by the House at \$1.50, and that rectified spirits should not be taxed; that the tax on life insurance policies provided for in the House bill be dropped, and that the tax on stockbrokers be retained, but that the rate of \$50 as provided by the House be reduced to \$30. The other important amendments of the Senate were all agreed to,—relieving

gasoline and mortgages from taxes, reducing the tax on cartickets, and imposing taxes on commission merchants and proprietary articles and increasing the rates on wines, pawn-brokers, and manufacturers of tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes.

The Ways and Means Committee in drawing up its original bill had gone on the supposition that at least \$100,000,000 must be raised; so their bill had provided for \$105,000,000 and the Senate bill for \$107,000,000. The conference committee found it very difficult to reach an agreement on such amendments as would produce just about one hundred million. They, therefore, consulted with President Wilson and, as he stated that he thought the present emergency could be met by a bill carrying \$90,000,000, the committee recommended to both Houses that such a bill be adopted. No roll call was taken in the House on the measure, but on division the vote stood 126 for and 52 against. In the Senate on roll call on the conference committee's report there were 35 yeas, 11 nays, and 50 reported as not voting. The votes in favor of the report were all from the Democratic party except one which was Republican, and the 11 votes against it were all Republican except one which was Progressive.

The fight on the measure from beginning to end was very largely along partisan lines. In 1898 both parties were in favor of raising revenue by internal taxes, differing primarily as to the amount which should be raised; but the disagreement on this measure was on very different grounds, going back really to the difference of the two parties on the tariff question,—whether the tariff should be levied for protection or for revenue purposes. The Republicans said that the tariff for revenue had already shown itself to be a failure and should be repealed, while the Democrats, not willing to admit this contention, said the threatened deficit was due to the European War and should be met by extraordinary taxes of a temograry nature.

At no time during the discussion of the bill did there seem to be a great deal of interest taken in it by the general public. Particular interests affected objected to any tax which would touch them. So we find the insurance men objecting to a tax on insurance policies, brokers petitioning to be relieved from the license tax, persons who used gasoline objected

to a two cent tax on it, and druggists complaining of the stamp tax to be applied to proprietary articles. But so far as a new internal tax law as a whole was concerned, there was little general objection to it. The objection raised to the taxation of liquors did not seem to come primarily from the liquor interests, but from those favoring prohibition on the ground that the federal government ought not to give its recognition to such a business by taxing it; that it made the National Government more dependent upon liquor revenues, thereby increasing the power of the liquor interests in national affairs.

Having considered the arguments advanced for the necessity of additional taxes with the replies made, and also the passage of the bill through the two houses of Congress and the attitude of the two principal political parties to it, we shall now attempt to summarize the chief features of the new law. The taxes imposed may be classified under three heads, (1) taxes on certain kinds of alcoholic beverages, (2) special or license taxes on certain kinds of business, and (3) stamp taxes.

As has been said, no change was made in the taxation of spirituous liquors, but the tax on beer, lager beer, ale, porter, and other similar fermented liquors was increased from \$1.00 per barrel to \$1.50 per barrel. This additional tax is to be collected by the use of stamps in the manner already prescribed by law. A clause in this first section of the law provided that the additional tax shall be made to apply to all liquor already made and stored in warehouses. This feature was included in the law of 1898 but was not in the internal tax laws passed during the Civil War, when its absence caused the loss of a large amount of revenue to the government. The only other kinds of alcoholic beverages mentioned in the law are wines of various kinds. The tax on still wines, domestic or imported. when bottled is at the rate of one-fourth cent for each one quarter pint, and eight cents per gallon when not bottled. On domestic and imported champagne and other sparkling wines, when bottled, the tax is five cents per half pint; and when not bottled at the rate of 20 cents per quart. On all liqueurs or cordials, when bottled, it is at the rate of one and one-half cents per half pint, and when not bottled at the rate of 24 cents per gallon. A tax of 55 cents is levied on each

gallon of grape brandy or wine spirits used in the fortification of sweet wines. This class of taxes went into effect October 23, 1914, the day after the act was signed.

The special or license taxes were levied on 13 different kinds of business at the following rates:

Subject of tax Rate
Bankers\$1.00 per \$1000 capital
Stockbrokers\$30.00
Pawn brokers\$50.00
Commercial brokers\$20.00
Custom house brokers\$10.00
Proprietors of theaters, museums, concert
halls\$25.00 to \$100.00
Proprietors of circuses\$100.00
Other exhibitions\$10.00
Bowling alleys and billiard halls
\$5.00 per alley or table
Commission merchants\$10.00
Tobacco dealers, leaf\$6.00 to \$24.00
Tobacco dealers, manufacturered\$4.80
Manufacturer of tobacco, cigars, and
cigarettes\$6.00 to \$2,496.00

The capital of a bank is defined to include surplus and undivided profits. Here again the law is better than were the laws of Civil War times or that of 1898. The Civil War laws gave no interpretation of the word capital, and it became necessary to have decisions by the Commissioner of Internal Revenues and by the courts to establish a proper definition. The act of 1898 stated that surplus was to be counted as capital, but made no mention of undivided profits, making it possible to evade the law to a certain extent by not setting aside the undivided profits as surplus.

In order that an owner of a circus or other public exhibition may exhibit in more than one state, it is necessary for him to pay the license tax in each state in which he desires to show. This tax, however, does not apply to Chautauquas, lecture lyceums, agricultural or industrial fairs, nor to exhibitions under the auspices of religious or charitable associations. The

tax on bowling alleys and billiard halls applies to all such places which are open to the public whether with or without charge. The act of 1898 did not provide for a specific tax on commission merchants, and the courts held that they could not be taxed as commercial brokers. So the Senate added this to the other special taxes, but with the provision that if a person paid a tax as a commercial broker he should not be taxed again as a commission merchant. The portion of the law levying special taxes went into effect November 1, 1914.

The stamp taxes provided for are divided into two classes

known as Schedule A and Schedule B:

SCHEDULE A

DOLLED DAM II	
Subject of tax	Rate
Stock or bond issues\$.05 per \$100 p	ar value
Stock transfers\$.02 per \$100 p	ar value
Sale of Mdse. on exchange\$.01 per \$1	00 value
Promissory notes\$.02 per \$10	
Bills of lading	
Telephone and telegraph messages\$	
Bond for indemnity	
Certificate of profits of corporation	
Certificate of damage	
Other certificates	
Contracts for sales	
Conveyances, deeds, etc\$.50 per \$5	
Withdrawal from custom house	
Entry at custom house\$.25	
Insurance policies, fire and fidelity	το φτιου
\$.00 1-2 per \$1.00	nremium
Passenger tickets to foreign ports. \$1.00	
Proxy to vote	
Power of attorney	
Chair or classing our ticket	
Chair or sleeping car ticket	\$.01

SCHEDULE B

Perfumery, cosmetics, etc one-eighth cent per \$.05 value Chewing gum\$.04 per \$1.00 value The tax on telephone and telegraph messages is levied only when the charges are over 15 cents, and it is payable by the sender. The company makes the collections at the time the messages are sent, and at stated periods pays the tax to the government collector. The tax on passenger tickets to foreign ports applies only when the cost of the ticket is \$10.00 or more. The portion of the law levying stamp taxes went into effect December 1, 1914. Numerous provisions were made for enforcing the law by providing penalties of fine or imprisonment or both for failure to pay the tax, attempting to counterfeit stamps, etc. With the internal revenue system organized as it is at the present time, it is not to be expected that it will be necessary to enforce many of these penalties.

Provisions were made in the law for the extra labor which the collection of these new taxes will necessitate, but the general system of administration is not different from the plan which has been followed for many years in collecting internal taxes. Therefore there is no need for special description of it. On the assumption that the conditions demanding the extra tax are only temporary, there is a provision in the law that it shall expire by limitation on December 31, 1915.

Plantation Memories of the Civil War

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE
Author of "Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century"

Fortunate are the persons who, in looking back upon the history of their own past, find no part of it darkened by sombre recollections of a Civil War. Not even the glamour which the alchemy of childhood and youth throws around those stages of life is entirely successful in softening and embellishing such a conglomeration of calamities should it happen to enter into one's early memories. Nearly fifty years have now passed since the present writer, then a boy of nine, playing with his companions under the April trees, stopped in the midst of the game to listen to the distant booming of cannon. It was the last guns fired, twenty-five miles away, at Appomattox. A fateful sound, indeed, that has not yet ceased to reverberate.

Although the plantation with which these reminiscences are bound up was not in the direct path of either of the two hostile armies, yet the writer's impressions of what may be termed the eddies from that awful commotion going on beyond the northern horizon are as vivid today as if those impressions had only recently been made. The very seclusion of the estate, with its population of a few white women and children, and many slaves of both sexes and all ages, seemed to give a deeper meaning to certain personal incidents occurring on the place, and to certain economic conditions to be observed there, which were due entirely to that conflict of arms which was then throwing out on all sides black waves of death, ruin, famine, and sorrow.

The first mutterings of the rising tempest broke in upon the peace of the Plantation very faintly at first, like the sound of the deadened roll of far off thunder; but steadily it drew nearer and nearer, until at last every man and woman within the bounds of the estate became shudderingly apprehensive lest they should be soon caught within its cyclonic sweep. Several months before hostilities actually began, a little sign was noticed which, at that lowering and nervous moment, carried in the minds of the superstitious at least positive assurance of war at no very remote hour in the future. A few months before the signal for the rush to arms was given, there was an extraordinary visitation of that species of locust which makes its appearance only once in seventeen years. The clouds of these insects that rose from the upland soil of the plantation and thickly grouped themselves on the branches of the trees, surpassed every phenomenon of that kind which could be recalled even by the oldest persons on the place. Their soft yet penetrating calls, mingling by the millions, filled the whole air over wide areas of ground with one prolonged roll of sound, that only ceased when the twilight had faded away into night. But it was not simply the number of insects which had fixed the wondering attention of everyone,-what was looked upon as far more worthy of thoughtful speculation than their multitude, or the volume of their cries, was the fact that the delicate membrane on the transparent surface of each wing formed a very large and perfectly proportioned letter W. The imagination of those who foreboded, already aroused to fever heat by the thickflying rumors of war, saw in this strange letter nature's forecasting of that conflict which was so soon to burst over the unhappy land. The whole atmosphere at this time was darkened by the excitement of the popular outlook on the future, and incidents that would have borne no fatal significance in an ordinary hour, now assumed even in sane and enlightened minds a morbid and threatening colouring.

It was recalled by those persons who were familiar with the history of Virginia that, when the insurrection of 1676, led by that silent and sombre hero, Nathaniel Bacon, was on the verge of irruption, flights of wild pigeons, stretching in one unbroken cloud from horizon to horizon, obscured the atmosphere like an eclipse of the sun, and drowned all other sounds with the hurtling of their countless wings. The popular imagination of that day had at once invested this migration, so much greater in the number of birds than was ever before seen, with an extraordinary significance; indeed, it was at once accepted as an omen that the Colony was about to be plunged in a sea of calamities, an anticipation that found an early fulfil-

ment in the embittered and passionate commotion that so soon arose, which was only repressed after the whole community had passed through tumultuous scenes of devastation and bloodshed.

The first indication to be observed on the Plantation that hostilities had really begun was the drilling, in one of its disused fields as a parade ground, of a considerable body of troops which had been equipped at the Master's expense, and which was enrolled under his command. These raw soldiers were natives and citizens of the county; some of them, indeed, resided only a few miles away; and all were in the prime of life. With the exception of a few yeomen recruited from the back hills, they were members of the same social class,-they were either planters owning estates in the fertile lowgrounds of the different streams, or young men engaged in the several professional callings, with a small sprinkling of youths who had left their colleges to join the ranks. All were persons who, from childhood, had been accustomed to the freedom of the country, and were passionately devoted to its pursuits and diversions. Knowing field and forest as thoroughly as the birds and wild animals did, they thought nothing of spending a night in an open air camp, or riding over hill and valley a whole day without dismounting from their saddles. Loving horses and guns, they had an extraordinary skill in riding and driving the one and aiming the other; indeed, their grip upon the bridle was always firm, and their sighting of a muzzle rarely inaccurate. They passed hour after hour hunting partridges in the stubble, turkeys in the woods, and wild ducks on the ponds. Many kept hounds for coursing hares and foxes; and there were few who had not learned how to cast a line for perch, roach, and trout. All were deeply attached to their homes, their county, and their State, and in defense of the three were ready to sacrifice their lives and their fortunes. They were bound to each other by a complete homogeneity of race; by the intermixture of blood through intermarriage during many generations; by the heritage of the same social traditions; by the possession of the same tastes; by a common experience of the same manner of life; by the entertainment of the same political sentiments; and finally, by the conviction

that, as their dearest rights had been invaded by the North, it was their duty as patriots to strike for the independence of the South with every resource at their command. All were animated by a sanguine and intrepid spirit, which permitted nothing to shake their confidence in the ultimate success of their cause.

Near the western boundary of the Plantation, there was a wide open field that had at one time been in tillage, but during many years had been suffered to lie fallow. It was entirely overgrown with a thick turf of broom-straw that was sufficiently uniform to offer no obstruction to foot or hoof passing over it in the drills. Around its borders arose the stately trees of the original forest, which, as the afternoon drew on towards night, threw ever deepening shadows across the surface of the broad area of cleared ground. The tents of the troops were pitched on the edge of this forest, and the pure whiteness of the new canvas cloth of which they were made was in picturesque contrast with the vivid verdure of the late spring foliage. Even more notable was the liveliness of the scene during the progress of the manœuvres as compared with the spirit of peace, seclusion, and remoteness which haunted the contiguous woods. The dull roll of the artillery wheels, the heavy tramp of the quick-stepping infantry, the impetuous rush of the horses of the cavalry, the metallic clatter of the sabres and accoutrements, and the strident commands of the officers, blending in a medley of noises, reverberated against the green wall of leaves, and was loudly echoed back, to deepen still further the confusion of sounds. And when night had come, and the lamps and the fires had been put out, the footfalls of the sentinels had their only response in the distant calls of the whippermill and the horned owl abroad in the darkness of the forest.

As the bulk of the troops belonged to the same rank in society, their association off duty was full of the spirit of friendly equality; and this was further increased by the fact that they were volunteers drawn thither from the same part of the country. Throughout, they mingled on a footing of perfect congeniality. Their idle hours were passed in practising with the rifle, playing games of ball or cards, strumming on the

banjo, or conversing in both a gay and a serious vein. Nor was their fare a scanty and monotonous one. As a matter of fact, they recalled its abundance and variety, while they were starving on a half ration of bacon and corn bread in after years of service, with a grim sense of humorous regret over the contrast. As all were now stationed near their old homes, their families were able to send them daily a liberal quantity of delicacies of every sort; and there were present numerous slaves, practised from their youth to the highest degree of skill in the culinary arts of the plantation, who were ready at all times to perform the duties of their calling for the troops. Beeves and sheep were roasted whole, while vegetables were cooked by the cart load But the favourite dish was a soup known as Brunswick stew. This was prepared in mammoth kettles set on open fires. It consisted of an extraordinary variety of ingredients; the milky grains of the summer maize, tomatoes, and beans were some of the vegetables used; while the meat that was supposed to give the best flavor was that of the squirrel, but if this was unobtainable, beef as a substitute was not rejected. The stew was served as hot as the lips could bear,-the hotter it was, in fact, the more palatable it was thought to be,-and for many of the soldiers, it was sufficient to appease their appetites. The dessert was restricted to an abundance of fruits and home-made sweetmeats.

It was only during the first year of the war that volunteers who had arrived at military age were formally drilled on the Plantation. The early recruits left the parade ground to enter the army, took part at once in marches and battles, and without exception, made an honorable record for fidelity and bravery. But from season to season, whilst hostilities were in progress, all the boys in the neighborhood who were over fifteen and under eighteen years of age were enrolled in a cavalry troop and put through a monthly drill. They were not expected to join the soldiers in the field until they had reached their eighteenth year; until that time arrived, they were reserved to perform the part of a home guard, should an occasion for their services in that capacity arise. It was felt that, during the absence of all the fully grown men on the lines, there should be some sort of a domestic force of sufficient strength to pro-

tect the women and children on the plantations against stragglers from both armies; and also to overawe and discourage any possible restlessness among the slaves. For the duties of a rural patrol, should there be reason to anticipate an uprising, these youths were particularly well fitted, for they were not only manly in spirit and tough in fibre, but like their fathers, they had been riding horses and firing guns ever since they were large enough to bestride a saddle or load a barrel. Moreover, they had, from childhood, been constantly exposed to every kind of weather and to every form of hardening exercise.

The Mistress of the Plantation was the sister of the Confederate Secretary at War, and quite naturally was very generally supposed to possess much influence with him, should she desire to exert it. One of the pathetic features of those times, full as they were of all sorts of poignant anxieties, was the number of personal appeals made to her by the families of yeomen belonging to that part of the country who had been drafted for active service in the army. All had fathers, husbands, or sons in the field. Many had been left without any support whatever. Few indeed owned a single slave. Even when the household was raised above such a condition of gnawing want, the absence of its head was felt acutely at every stage in the course of the daily life of the home and the farm. With her sallow complexion and gaunt frame too often revealing the abjectness of her poverty, and with her hollow eyes showing the depth of her anxiety, a woman, accompanied by numerous children, would arrive either on foot or in a ramshackle cart drawn by a mule or an ox as emaciated as themselves. She had come perhaps as much as forty miles to beg the Mistress of the Plantation to obtain a furlough from the War Office, which would permit her husband to tramp back in order to work the growing crop of corn, or to gather in the harvest of wheat as the only means of providing bread for the family during the winter. Or his presence was longed for as affording assistance and comfort now that the shadow of harrowing sickness had fallen upon his hearthstone. Or what was perhaps still more moving, the children would arrive alone, and having announced that their mother was too ill to come with them, would say

in all artlessness that her life was dependent on the return of the husband and father, who, at that very moment, might be lying stark upon some battle field in Northern Virginia. In each instance, the assurance was eagerly given, with every sign of perfect sincerity, that, should the soldier be permitted to revisit his family, even for the period of a week, he would, at the end of that time, promptly go back to his station in the army.

But it was not simply the burden of the sorrows of others which the Mistress had to bear,—she had without ceasing causes for acute anxiety on her own account. It is true that her sons were too young to be drafted, but she had a husband, brother, and nephews who were serving either as officers or as privates in the ranks and as such constantly running the risk of the gravest peril. Great battles attended with the most awful outpouring of blood would be fought; and days, even weeks, would go by before she could obtain information as to whether they had been killed or wounded or had escaped uninjured. At any hour a telegram might be placed in her trembling hand briefly announcing the death of some kinsman in the field: indeed one of her nephews had fallen in storming the heights of Malvern; other relatives had been maimed by shot and shell; while her favorite brother had perished from diseases of the camp. The homes of numerous friends situated in the path of the enemy, known to her intimately through constant visits from childhood up, were deliberately fired upon, the beautiful and prosperous farms attached to them swept clean, the stables and barns given over to the torch, and the slaves dispersed far and wide.

While all these sinister events were taking place elsewhere, she was forced to rely for her chief protection, from hour to hour, on the fidelity of the numerous slaves under her roof, and on the vigilance of the overseers at the quarters. In the last resort, the task of maintaining the orderly working of every department of the estate fell on her, while she supervised, directly and uninterruptedly, the affairs of her own household, guarded the health of her children, and superintended their education. She bore up under the load of these multifarious and often perplexing duties with rare firmness,

vigor and discretion. As her own experience demonstrated, it was not the men alone who had to breast the full force of these tempestuous and lurid times. Even those women, who, in the absence of their husbands at the front, were in the enjoyment of the varied resources of the most fertile plantations, were compelled to share in all the actual sorrows and racking uncertainties of the passing hours; and these were perhaps rendered more acute by the fact that their lives were not buoyed up by the tumultuous excitement of the battle-field, or relieved by the diversions of the rapid marches, or the humors of the long encampments.

But the stress of emotion which the Mistress of the Plantation had to endure was not confined to her anxiety for the fate of those she loved who were engaged in the sanguinary conflicts almost daily occurring. Every great event, whether attended with success or failure, touching the Cause of the Confederacy profoundly affected her independently of its possible bearing on the members of her own circle. Such an event, for instance, was the death of Stonewall Jackson. That Titanic commander was looked upon by a multitude of Southern people as the principal, if not the only, personality through whom the freedom of their struggling States was to be won, and a place in the family of nations permanently secured.

It was thought by them that only some soldier who could move with the swiftness and strike with the energy of Napoleon could prevail against the preponderance in numbers and the superabundance in wealth of the North. Was not the campaign in the Shenandoah Valley quite equal in genius to the campaign in Italy.

The Mistress of the Plantation was one of those who held this view. Besides, as she resembled a Covenanter herself in the tenacity and sternness of her convictions, and in the relentless vigor of her feelings, Jackson, as a man, appealed to her sympathies with singular force. His Puritan habits, his rigid piety, his intense patriotism, which amounted to a fierce fanaticism, his hatred of the enemy, that caused him to advocate a course of ceaseless killing as the only correct policy for the war on the Confederate side, his indefatigable energy,

his eternal vigilance, were qualities which raised her confidence in him to the height of enthusiasm.

One afternoon as the sun was sinking towards the verge of the western horizon and projecting long shadows over the face of the quiet landscape, a courier entered the Park through its iron gate, and ascending the hill by the winding road, halted in front of the door of the mansion. His horse was bespattered with mud and his own clothes were disheveled and travel-stained, while the expression of his countenance was sad and thoughtful. He had come to inform the Mistress that Jackson was dead! The news so suddenly broken to her entirely overwhelmed her; she retired at once to her room as though to mourn for one of her own family who had perished in battle, and remained there plunged in sorrow for several days. She did not acknowledge the conviction openly at the time, but after the close of the war she admitted that she had from that hour abandoned all real hope of the Confederacy's final success; and this silent prognostication turned out in the end to be only too correct.

As the Plantation was not, during the first three years of the war, in the track of the contending armies, it became from time to time an asylum for Confederate officers who were recuperating from severe wounds. One of these was a colonel in the cavalry branch who had led the van in Stuart's raid around McClellan's forces during the Federal invasion of the Peninsula. The dash which he displayed throughout that perilous and romantic enterprise had made him a famous figure in the service. He possessed many of the qualities of the typical Cavalier. Before hostilities began, he was a country gentleman distinguished among his fellows for his manly accomplishments; he was a skilful oarsman, a fearless rider, an accurate shot, a graceful dancer, a charming raconteur, a gay and sympathetic companion, and an hospitable host. Devoted to a life in the open air in all its phases, he was also strongly domestic in his tastes; alike a lover of nature and of humanity; genial in spirit, happy in temper, and kind in heart; enjoying all the bright side of existence and yet responsive to its serious side too; full of sturdiness and courage that shrank from no danger, but rather courted every peril if the cause of his country, in which his entire soul was embarked, could be advanced thereby. Struck in the arm while leading his regiment in battle, he was for several months completely unfitted for further fighting, although after several weeks able to leave the hospital. He took advantage of this interval of enforced inaction before returning to his command to visit the Plantation in the hope that a change of scene would hasten the restoration of his wounded arm to its normal strength. But for his carrying this arm in a sling, no one seeing him would have suspected that, only a few months before, he had been the bravest of the brave in one of the most sanguinary and stubbornly contested battles of the war; and that within a few weeks, he would return to his regiment to take part again in the conflict, and would show the same courage and devotion until the very end, should he escape the bullets to which he was certain to expose himself with all his former reckless daring. Having the keenest sense of the comic, the spirit of an irrepressible jocularity would sparkle in his eye on the smallest hint of fun, whilst his laugh expressing the most unrestrained joyousness, could always be heard above that of any of his companions.

He would gather the admiring children in a circle about him to listen as he trolled "In the Good Old Colony Days," "Bonnie Blue Flag," and other songs which were popular in those stirring times; or he would relate vivid tales of his varied adventures in the hunting field or on the water, for his home stood near an arm of the sea; or he would describe how birds and hares could be trapped or snared; or tell where hazel and hickory nuts grew in the woods. He was master of all sorts of rural lore, all kinds of ingenious manual skill, that were specially valued by his youthful hearers; and he poured this information out with as much gusto as if he were of their own age.

Although his wounded arm had still to be supported, he did not hesitate to accompany the older boys on horseback when they rode out into the fields to shoot hares and partridges. At the time of his visit, high water, spreading over the low grounds, had driven an extraordinary number of rabbits to the wooded bluffs that fringed the amphitheatre of hills. As the frightened animals pursued by the dogs would

rush out of these coverts, he would rise in his stirrups, bring his gun to his shoulder with his uninjured arm, and firing, would rarely miss his quarry. He was ready at all hours of the day to participate in the other sports of the boys; could throw a ball as straight as any of them, or knock it as far with his bat; run as quickly from base to base; and jump as far in a leaping match.

After hostilities began, the economy of the Plantation was not less self-contained than it had been in times of peace; indeed, the pressure of necessity only served to confirm the regulations of that earlier day. The production of tobacco alone fell off with the closing of the foreign markets by the blockade. Wheat, corn, and hay, on the other hand, were cultivated over as wide areas as in the most plentiful years before the war. As there was a mill situated on the Plantation, its inhabitants were still able to get their daily supply of meal without leaving its borders. The gardens furnished an abundance of vegetables and the orchards of fruit; the hog ranges continued to afford an excellent bacon, the pastures, beef and mutton. Gradually, however, all articles of food, such as sugar, coffee, tea, and sweetmeats, which were obtained by purchase from the merchants, became scarce and still more scarce, until at last they could not be bought at all. Sugar cane was now planted to furnish a substance with which to sweeten; sorghum to supply molasses; toasted wheat took the place of the coffee berry; and the highly flavoured root of the sassafras shrub of the tea leaf.

Christmas had always been a season of overflowing plenty on the Plantation until the dearth in imported articles of food, brought about by hostilities, deprived it of that character except so far as they were to be obtained from the soil of the Plantation itself. Turkeys, spare-ribs, and addles of mutton garnished the Master's table the last Christmas celebrated during that cruel period, but there were no oysters, no plum puddings, no mince pies; indeed, none of the special dishes immemorially associated with that crowning festival. Dainties for the children, such as raisins, almonds, candies, oranges, bananas and cocoanuts, were not to be procured; and they had to be satisfied with home-made cakes and jam puffs, with

walnuts and hickory nuts, with sweet potatoes baked in the oven and apples baked on the hearth, with fluffy popcorn that had been heated to the bursting point in the kitchen skillet, and with dried peach chips that had been stored away by the housekeeper the previous summer. As for the slaves, they missed the liberal gifts which they had received in happier and more abundant times; not even the old clothes of the Master's family could be spared them in this hour of dearth and uncertainty.

Before the war began, the Plantation included among its slaves shoemakers, spinners, weavers and tailors who had been trained to a high degree of skill. These artizans became invaluable as the pinch from the diminishing amount of manufactured supplies grew more acute. Their number was always kept the same by the choice of intelligent apprentices. At the opening of hostilities, leather was obtained without difficulty, but as time passed, the quantity afforded by the herds of cattle on the Plantation fell off owing to the demand for beeves on the hoof for the army. During the last year of the conflict, all the footwear for the slaves and children was bottomed with hardwood. The leather for the uppers grew to be so poor in quality, in consequence of the inability to cure the hides properly, that, for the most part, the shoes came to have the appearance of having been made out of perfectly raw material. The older members of the Master's family continued to use the footwear bought in more prosperous times until it could no longer be held together by new half soles and new patches. The quantity of cotton and flax grown in the gardens of the slaves increased with each year of the war, and the supply thus obtained, together with the wool from the flocks of sheep, afforded all that was required for the manufactures of the spinners and the weavers. The cloth produced by them was coarse to the touch and not very attractive to the eye, but was easily convertible into the garments needed by the negroes during the different seasons. The whir of the spinning wheel and the clatter of the shuttles of the loom could be heard afar through the whole of the summer day, since all doors were then standing wide open; and loom and wheel were busier still in winter although the sound of their motions was not then so audible at a distance. During the first years of the war, the 40

Master and Mistress were able to procure their clothes from the merchants; the merchants had previously obtained them from the mills that manufactured uniforms for the armies; but towards the close of hostilities, this avenue of supply was shut off, and the wardrobes that remained had to be husbanded with studied ingenuity. Their children's garments, on the other hand, were cut out and made up entirely by the Plantation's tailors, and proved quite equal to their wants. The hats for summer were plaited of straw by the slave women; those worn in winter were frequently manufactured out of rabbit skins; and of that material also, the gloves for cold weather were often made; while the skins of the raccoon and squirrel were sometimes used for the same purpose. Ample light within doors at night was secured by the conversion of beef tallow into candles, while an abundance of wood for the domestic fires was obtained at all seasons from the forests.

Had the Master and Mistress of the Plantation looked to new books alone for amusement, they would have fared but poorly during the whole of the war. Few additions were made to their library while the conflict was going on; and such as were made were chiefly files of newspapers and copies of monthly magazines published within the boundaries of the Confederacy. The only volumes of contemporary issue which they were able to procure were certain novels of Victor Hugo, Miss Mulbach, and Miss Augusta Evans printed in the South, during the progress of hostilities, in rough type, on coarse paper, and bound in the commonest stuff. Besides, there were numerous pamphlets, which soon took on all the discoloration of age from the inferior quality of the paper and ink used in their manufacture. In times so exciting and so exacting, there was little inclination among the older members of the family to divert themselves as much as formerly with books; and even if they could have bought all the celebrated English works then appearing, it is doubtful whether they would have derived much pleasure from their perusal. The arrival of the daily paper overtopped all other events in the ordinary course of their lives, and its columns offered subjects for thought and conversation which threw the most absorbing contemporary volumes into complete insignificance in contrast. Their causes for anxiety were too numerous and too constant to permit their minds to rest with placid abstraction on the incidents and characters of even the most graphic novel or the style and reasoning of the most classical essay. Everything else seemed dull and unimportant in comparison with the sanguinary drama of the war, on whose issue the fate of a nation and their own private fortunes depended.

During the last year of the war, when the Confederacy was in the course of gradual strangulation from the steady convergence of the Federal armies, the draughts upon the resources of the Plantation for the support of the Southern troops grew larger in quantity and more frequent in occurrence. First, the Confederate Government required that a greater proportion of the maize, wheat, oat and hay crops should be turned over to the commissaries; the military wagons were to be seen almost daily on the place engaged in hauling away bags of grain and bales of forage; and so often did they traverse the public highways with their heavy loads that there was constant popular grumbling over the damage which they inflicted by cutting up the roadbeds. The next order of the Government was for the impressment of mules. The voungest and strongest were chosen, to the acute discontent of the slaves, not only because they had an affection for these animals, but also because thereafter they would have the aid of the least vigorous in the fields. Then came a third order, this time for the impressment of a certain number of young negroes, who were needed to work on the fortifications of Petersburg, now in a state of seige. They were to be taken barely an hundred miles from their native plantation; were not to be brought under fire at all; and were to undergo only the privations to which the soldiers in the trenches were exposed. But naturally enough, they were deeply depressed at the prospect of coming within the sound of exploding bombs and shells.

It turned out to be a fatal departure for some of them. Camp fever broke out with extraordinary virulence while they were digging on the lines. Several died there; several returned to the Plantation, not too ill to travel, but with the seeds of sickness so thickly sown in their bodies that they took to their beds immediately on entering their cabins. An epidemic of typhus followed their arrival. With this epidemic

49

it was difficult to cope, although there was a physician who daily went the round of the estate during its prevalence, and there were also numerous negro nurses of experience in constant attendance. The Master was now at home, as the State Senate, of which he was a member, was no longer in session. It had always been his habit to visit the sick among his slaves no matter how contagious their diseases. In spite of the imminent risk of infection, he now spent one half of each day entering cabin after cabin to see that the natients were being properly watched; to cheer up those among them who were despondent; and to receive the last words of those who were dving. Everything in the nature of clothes or food that his own house could furnish to ease their condition was used promptly and liberally. At this time, he was clearly aware that slavery as an institution was doomed; that the complete collapse of the Confederacy might happen at any hour; and that many of the slaves, when once set free, would abandon the Plantation for ever. No such anticipations as these were suffered to stand in the path of his performance of what he considered to be his sacred duty to those who were still dependent on him; in some instances, for life itself.

Perhaps the most ominous foreshadowing of the hopelessness of the Confederate cause at this time was the presence of deserters in the forests of the Plantation. Here they had found a temporary asylum. The long drawn-out siege of Petersburg, with the resulting exposure of the soldiers in the trenches to snow, hail, rain, and the scorching sun; the privation of food, clothes and medicines; and numerous other hardships equally destructive of health, had sunk the spirits of many of them to the very bottom; but in the long run, all this would have been borne had it not been felt that the outlook for ultimate triumph had become entirely overclouded. Some of the least staunch among the privates so far permitted their discouragement to destroy their sense of patriotism as to steal from the ranks under cover of darkness, and to set out for their distant homes. In order to reach their destination without interception by the provost marshals, they had to pursue their way with the utmost caution through the densest of the intervening woods. It was only during the last three or four

months of the war that such skulkers were seen with any frequency, and then only by stumbling suddenly upon their leafy dens in the brush. In the imagination of the women and children of the country a deserter eager to pounce upon them without provocation lurked in every hollow of the forest; and they believed that unspeakable outrages at their hands would befall any one who wandered too far alone into the depths of its loneliest coverts. As a matter of fact, the cowards who had left the army by stealth were only too anxious to escape observation, and fled into still thicker brakes at the first sound of a footstep on the dry leaves and rotting sticks. None perhaps remained more than a few days on the Plantation, and those who lingered at all were induced to do so only by the large herds of hogs running wild in all parts of the woods, and by the security which the far spread-

ing growth of trees afforded for the time being.

During the early years of the war, when a succession of victories seemed to make certain the independence of the Southern States, resistance to conscription rarely occurred in that part of the country where the Plantation was situated. There was, however, a yeoman in that neighborhood,—a poor creature enough even in times of peace, when there were no such constant demands upon the highest manhood,-who fled into the woods as soon as he heard that a recruiting officer was coming to enroll all the men under fifty years of age in that vicinity. As long as hostilities continued, he never came back to his former haunts, but passed the entire interval in a wild state in the forests. It was an existence not only of dreary loneliness, but also of daily makeshifts and privations. The berries that he was able to pick from the bushes in the spring and summer, the nuts that he gathered along the banks of the woodland streams in the autumn, a pig stolen on the hog ranges, a hare caught in a hollow gum, a bird snared on the branch of a tree, or a squirrel trapped on the top rail of a fence, made up the staple of his food from season to season. His body was protected only by the limbs of the forest from the drifting snows in winter, the pelting floods of rain in spring, the stagnant heat in summer, and the chilly mists in autumn. Rain and hail, snow and sunshine fell upon his head as though he were but a wild beast like the frightened 44

animals that ran across his path from hour to hour. He was the fellow of the fox, the raccoon, the hedgehog, the squirrel, and the rabbit. And he preferred to be such to facing the muskets, the cannons, and the bayonets. From time to time, it was reported that he had been seen in the deepest recesses of the forests by hunters and wood-cutters. What sounded like incredible tales were told of his matted hair hanging down over his eyes, of his clothing patched with the skins of wild animals, and of his frame as gaunt as that of a famished wolf which had been hunted from covert to covert with hound, horn and gun. To the fevered imagination of the children, he was such a monster as exists only in the shape of those foul and implacable ogres who are pictured in the fairy tales. When they went into the forests in autumn to gather the ripe chestnuts and chinquapins, they were in such a nervous and excited state that the slightest rustle in the dry leaves made by a startled hare, ground squirrel, or lizard, or the crash of the brushes swept apart as a frightened deer fled through the undergrowth, at once suggested this terrible outcast, and calling to each other that he was in pursuit and close at hand, they would rush in great disorder and with frantic cries towards the nearest road, and not halt in their headlong flight until they had reached the protection of the quarters. The war had been over at least a year before this skulking fugitive ventured to leave the woods and return to his former home. The remainder of his life was passed in morose isolation, as he was looked upon very generally as one who had forfeited all right to association with his own kind.

During the progress of the war, not a single soldier of the Federal armies entered the domain of the Plantation; but one of the boldest and most scouring raids of the enemy barely grazed its edge. While the siege of Petersburg was slowly dragging along to a close, and Lee was concerting his plans for setting out on his last retreat, a Federal cavalry division, under the command of a dashing officer, was dispatched to burn the railway bridge spanning the Staunton River, over which the main supplies for the Confederate army and capital passed from the South. As this part of Virginia had so far escaped the hoof of invasion, a great commotion arose among its inhabitants when they heard of this sudden incursion.

Exaggerated reports of the strength and ferocity of the irrupting force got abroad with the swiftness of the wind, and the slaves were as violently alarmed as the white people. The only white men remaining on the Plantation were the two overseers, and they at once took steps, under the direction of the Mistress, to remove to a place of safety such property of value as the enemy would be able to carry off. The mules and horses were driven to the hills; the silver and jewelry were boxed and placed in a hole dug in the woods; the wines were carted away to the nearest town. At the hour the enemy were expected to arrive, the Mistress was ready to meet them, with unruffled calmness and dignity, at the front door of her home. The slaves, however, did not attempt to conceal their fright, while the children rushed to and fro in terrified excitement seeking to hide all those petty articles belonging to them which they thought (in most cases without any ground whatever) would appeal to the cupidity of the soldiers. The enemy failed to come after all; news was brought that they had been driven off before they could destroy the bridge; and that they were in disordered retreat towards their main army. A long breath was drawn on the Plantation, and the commotion at once subsided.

Tranquility had hardly returned when the daily paper announced that Sherman's forces were advancing from the Carolinas, although still an hundred miles away; and that Lee was falling back from the East with the intention of throwing up entrenchments on the line of high bluffs that looked down upon the Plantation from the farther bank of the river which skirted its southern boundary. In either event, the estate would be overrun, and it might even become the scene of a bloody battle. Lee was really retreating to a point situated more to the north-west, but before he could reach the river, he was compelled to surrender his depleted army.

A few days after this closing event occurred, the public road that ran through the Plantation was crowded with Confederate infantrymen and cavalrymen making their way towards their homes in the Far South. From the crowns of their faded hats to the soles of their halfshod feet, they were sprinkled with the dust of travel; their uniforms were patched and tattered; their motions full of fatigue; whilst their countenances showed the effect of exposure and privation. But their glances, though reflecting the melancholy which all must have felt over the complete destruction of their patriotic hopes, were still as resolute and sturdy as when they were about to enter battle confident of victory and san-

guine of the ultimate triumph of their cause.

Hardly had this brave but sad remnant of General Lee's heroic army passed, hardly had the usual silence and peace fallen again in the country-side, when the Master called all the negroes of the Plantation about him, and told them in a few simple words that they were no longer slaves but freemen to go wherever they chose. Thus ended the protracted tragedy of the war, which carried with it the radical destruction of that Order of Society and that System of Economy which had prevailed on the Plantation since the country had been seized from the Redmen.

What is Wrong with American Literature?

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During the past year there have appeared in the better magazines several articles which seek to answer the question "What is wrong with American literature?" To this question there are given a great diversity of answers. Mr. Henry Sydnor Harrison, writing in the April number of the Atlantic Monthly, lays the blame at the doors of the editors. Talent and genius, he says, are not sufficiently encouraged by the editors. It is only after a writer has in some manner gained success or acquired notice that he receives recognition from the editors. Mr. Victor Rousseau, in a communication to the New York Times Review of Books, refutes Mr. Harrison's assertions. The trouble, he says, is with the reading public. The public taste is for cheap, sensational literature of a few standard varieties, and the editors give preference to professional writers who best follow the standards. Originality, says Mr. Harrison, is not encouraged by the editors of the current magazines; the public does not care for originality, says Mr. Rousseau in reply. It is apparent, therefore, that authors themselves, though conscious that something is wrong with American literature, do not quite agree in their answers to their self-propounded question.

In the May issue of *The Bookman* Mr. Clayton Hamilton takes up one particular branch of American literature. "What is wrong with the American drama?" he asks. And he finds that "the responsibility for the present dearth of American dramatic art must be divided between the public, the managers, the critics, and the playwrights themselves." To summarize his article, we have these conclusions. First, the public is more concerned with the actors than with the drama, more interested in the theatre than in the art of authorship, and more desirous of being entertained than enlightened. Secondly, the managers care not at all whether a play interprets life, or sets forth a representation of life, but only whether it will prove popular and a successful business venture. Thirdly, the critics,

says Mr. Hamilton, are not dramatic critics, they are merely reporters. To use his illustration, "They give more prominence to the fact that Miss Billie Burke looks well in pink pajamas than to the fact that Miss Eleanor Gates has written a work of art in *The Poor Little Rich Girl*." Lastly, the playwrights themselves are forgetful of the twofold purpose of the drama: to represent life truly, and to interpret life in terms of the theatre. "What can be done to improve the drama?" asks Mr. Hamilton. In answer he tells us that the public must be educated to distinguish between the theatre and the drama, there must be a vigorous demand for dramatic criticism, we must encourage and support a few courageous managers, and we must sufficiently reward playwrights with fame and money whenever they succeed in interpreting life nobly and truly.

In an article appearing in the New York Times Review of Books of April 19, 1914, Louis Untermeyer, one of our most promising young poets, takes a more cheerful view of American poetry, another particular branch of American literature. The faults that existed, he says, have been discovered, and the poets of the younger generation are breaking away from "the self-imposed and self-destroying traditions" by which so much of our older poetry was fettered. And speaking of the influence of traditions on poetry of today Mr. Untermeyer says: "Our poetry is set free from its over-decorated backgrounds; free from its scholarly training; free from itself It is again expressing itself in the oldest language—the language of the people." "The poet of today does not get his poem from poetry," he is "faithful to things." And in conclusion, he says, "Poetry has once more become democratic; it is no longer an exclusive diversion of the languid and literary It is no longer an escape from life; it is a spirited encounter with life."

In the New York *Evening Post* we have appearing the most pessimistic outlook upon our literature in some time. Comparing our fiction output with that of England, the writer finds England with Wells, De Morgan, Chesterton, Conrad, and a whole array of others, far ahead of America in fiction writers. Speaking of the opportunities existing in America for the creation of a great literature, the writer has this to say:

"As if great literature could not be produced, and had not been produced, under all opportunities and lack of opportunities, in the desert as well as in swarming cities, under despotism and under political and social freedom, in great military empires and among petty nationalities. Critics who would shame us into producing the long-delayed 'great American novel' are always throwing the unlimited opportunities of America into our faces. The opportunities are there of course: democracy, vast population, vast riches, racial complexity, magnificent geographical distances, stupendous economic forces. But none of these things, nor all of these things, when put into a novel, will make it a great novel. What makes a great novel is the soul of man. One man is enough if honestly observed and honestly set down. That great opportunity is present everywhere. Cervantes found it in Spain, and Turgenev in Russia. We do not need the complexity of 100,000,000 people and two dozen strains of blood to foster great literature. Ibsen found plenty of opportunities in his two-by-four Norwegian land."

The writer thinks that we are overburdened by the number of our opportunities:

"Opportunities, social conflicts, justice, tyranny—why, the thing apparently to do must be to tackle some 'problem of the day.' And our young writer will immediately start to find his problem, the very captain of industry whom Mr. Herrick rejects, or the decay of religious faith, or the working classes, or suffrage, or rights and wrongs of a more abstract nature, but problems for all that. And with the problem he is lost, especially since he has not the supreme talent which may transmit a problem into universality. No, the trouble with our writers is not that they neglect their opportunities, but they neglect their opportunity; that they think they are serious when they busy themselves with problems of the day, when they should be busying themselves with men and women."

Here we have a frank comparison of American and English fiction, "and," says the writer, "the comparison shows us nothing to be proud of." One notices that in this article the writer assumes that our novelists have not written much of men and women, and that, to produce great literature, they must begin to think less of 'problems of the day' and more of the portrayal

50

of the souls of men and women. But have our writers entirely overlooked men and women! Have they altogether been concerned with social and religious and economic affairs! Let us see. In Theodore Dreiser's novel, The Financier, we have the story of a man's struggle for wealth, and the slow hardening of his heart in that sordid endeavor. Margaret Deland, in the Iron Woman, gives us a picture of the soul-life of a business woman and mother. Take the stories of John Fox, Jr., of the mountaineers of Kentucky and Virginia, the war novels of Mary Johnston and Ellen Glasgow, George W. Cable's stories of Creole life in Louisiana, each one a classic in itself, pictures of before and after the Civil War by Thomas Nelson Page, of life in the bluegrass of Kentucky by James Lane Allen, and, later, novels by Herrick, Albert Edwards, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, Edith Wharton, Henry Sydnor Harrison, and in each of them can be found the history of a soul. But there is this distinction in each of these stories: the locality in which the story is laid determines the problems which the characters have to meet, and these problems, therefore, are not universal. And here is the reason why our literature is not great literature. It is well at this point to notice some words of Emerson's particularly applicable to this period of our literature. In the American Scholar he says: "As no air-pump can by any means make a perfect vacuum, so neither can an artist entirely exclude the conventional, the local, the perishable from his book, or write a book of pure thought, that shall be as efficient, in all respects, to a remote posterity, as to contemporaries, or rather to the second age. Each age, it is found, must write its own books." And to these words we might very well add, "each type of people must produce its own literature."

Though the writer in the Evening Post intimates that our great diversity of topography and population, and immensity of area, should not have any influence on our writers, it is nevertheless true, as I have just shown, that these very things are exerting and have exerted a most profound effect on present-day American literature. The growth of the United States can be compared to that of no other country in the world; its complex population is composed of nearly all the races on the globe; its social and industrial development far outstrips

that of any other nation in rapidity. Is it any wonder that the American writer, conscious of all these great changes taking place, and himself a part of them, should seek to interpret and express these changes! It is not so much "problems of the day" that he is concerned with, as with the behavior and action of the men and women of some particular locality under particular conditions. These conditions are not stable, and therefore his work lives only for a brief period. But so long as his efforts are sincere, and his interpreting faithful, the writer has done his duty and accomplished something for our common literature. The present-day American novelists, even the best of them, are not great, and their works will not live any longer than that of which they have written exists; for there is not a character in American fiction comparable to Anna Karénina. Don Quixote, Tito, Sidney Carton, and, later, Tess and Jude the Obscure, and these characters make their authors immortal. But the American novelists have written of conditions as they exist, of men as a class, of changes as they take place, and if their works prove evanescent, they are none the less deserving.

The best literature yet produced in America was that of the time when Boston was the literary centre of the new world. There were found such men as Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, Whittier. No group of writers who have come since their day have produced any really great literature. And this does not seem strange when we consider how completely hedged about was Boston at that time, and the unlimited expanse of the United States at the present. Then social and industrial conditions, though modified to a large extent, were essentially the same as those in England; but now we are building in fields as different from other nations as is possible, and along with such growth arises a new literature,—a literature in which none of our writers has as yet become famous.

It is not yet time for the American novelist to forget entirely the changes around him, shut his eyes to social and industrial conditions, become oblivious to sections and localities, and proceed to busy himself with the development of the soul of the American man; and those critics of American literature who would hasten the time when our writers shall begin to produce great literature are too impatient. Such a time will come

of course but only when our growth has become less rapid, social and economic conditions more stable, our population more amalgamated, and our government more unified. Our writers are passing through a probationary period; in due time they will have finished their preparatory work, and will then take their places in company with the other great writers of the world.

William Cowper Brann

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Among the curiosities of literature must be ranked the life and works of Brann, the iconoclast, a man now to fame unknown and forgotten by almost all save those who knew him personally. The historian of southern literature, however, would do well to preserve some account of this man, who born under unauspicious stars, flashed through the sky like a meteor, leaving desolation and sorrow in his path, and vanishing in a final devastating blaze.

William Cowper Brann was born in Humboldt, Illinois, January 4, 1855. His mother having died when he was two and a half years old, he was placed in the care of a farmer, William Hawkins, of Coles County, who for ten years kept the boy and treated him with a solicitous kindness which he never forgot. Here the boy learned to despise the drudgery of farm life, to which he was in no wise suited, and formed the resolution of leaving the farm, of fending for himself. Certain that his plan would be opposed by both Mr. Hawkins and his father, he quietly packed his few personal belongings in a knapsack, climbed out of his window on a cold, stormy night, and thus meagerly equipped, at the age of thirteen went out into the world.

Up to this time his education had been neglected, but he was brimming with a desire to know books and men. The occupations which he was forced to follow in order to earn his daily bread, however, were not such as to further his desire for knowledge. His first position was that of bell boy in a hotel. Later he became a painter, a drummer, a printer, a reporter, and finally an editorial writer. His energy, his industry, his conscientious application enabled him to secure positions whenever he wished; he was never without work, and each position that he secured was better than the last. Through all these desultory occupations, his determination to learn remained unchanged. Brann may be said to have been one of the few writers who were purely self-taught, and who,

at the same time, were highly educated. Every minute that he could spare from his daily labor was spent in reading. His tastes ran to no particular line. He was an omnivorous reader. Philosophy, fiction, history, biography, science alike appealed to him; and as he came to have more leisure, he took up the study of Spanish, German, French, and Latin. Like Macaulay, whom he resembles in more than one respect, he had a retentive memory that kept in firm grasp everything he read.

While Brann was making some success as a reporter, he married Miss Carrie Martin, of Rochelle, Illinois. The date of the wedding was March 3, 1877. But Fortune did not smile, and the next dozcn years of Brann's life were marked by a long and an apparently hopeless struggle with misfortune and poverty. Through it all he retained his cheery and hopeful disposition, knowing well that he was capable of doing good work and biding his time. This led to a decision to emigrate to Texas, a state then new and inexhaustible in the opportunities it offered to settlers. Brann had by this time gained some reputation as an editorial writer because of his work on small Illinois papers and the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. He now determined to enter into newspaper work in Texas.

Even at that period Texas was more than ordinarily fortunate in its state press; it had at least four papers that compared favorably with those in any other part of the country. In point of influence the Galveston-Dallas News and the Houston Post ranked first. Brann cast his fortunes with the Post, and soon became chief editorial writer on that paper. But his views and the language in which he expressed them were too radical for the sober and conservative Post. Brann was held down by the editor and menaced with dismissal. Rules were to him intolerable; he grew tired of the continual struggle to mould his own opinions to suit those of his superiors. It is not strange, then, that he decided to leave the Post, towards which, indeed, he ever afterwards held an implacable enmity. As he himself has told the story: "In the year of our Lord, 1891, I became pregnant with an idea. Being at that time chief editorial writer on the Houston Post, I felt dreadfully mortified, as nothing of the kind had ever before occurred in that eminently moral establishment. Feeling that I was forever disqualified for the place by this untoward incident, I resigned and took sanctuary in the village of Austin. As swaddling clothes for the expected infant, I established the Iconoclast."

The first issue of the Iconoclast, a monthly journal, appeared in Austin, in July, 1891; and Austin people still remember the shock it caused. The Austin Statesman, with unexpected magnanimity, seemed to think the paper a credit to Austin, and complimented it in terms of mingled respect and horror. "Its mission," so the Statesman's editor wrote, "is evidently to make a large quantity of sheol and make a good sized portion of the human race wish they or it had never seen the light of day. It is a veritable 'roasting mill.' a 'skinning machine' with a full set of knives and a revolution like a drunken buzz-saw. It strikes at pretty much everything it sees and at quite a number of things that it don't see, but imagines it does, and it strikes below the belt with both hands, and does not scruple to use its teeth." Perhaps no better criticism has ever been written about the Iconoclast than in this masterpiece of modern journalistic style. The papers of the state arrayed themselves for and against the magazine: some praised it highly, others declared its editor a scoundrel with no sense of decency, a fool who out-Heroded Herod, who tore down all existing order and made no suggestions for remedy. The Statesman, probably for prudential reasons, frequently mentioned the Iconoclast favorably. On September 17, 1891, it "Whether the Iconoclast is aimed at existing remarked: abuses for sensation's sake or to benefit humanity, and whether you believe much or little you find in the pages of that journal, you must confess that the editor looks through a powerful pair of glasses and that he does not hesitate to put down in words the deformities he says he discovers by aid of his magnifiers. We honestly believe that monthly journal is intended to do good rather than evil, and though one may be shocked at times with the familiar and radical way in which subjects are treated, yet the articles found in the Iconoclast's pages are of a character to make you think, to make you go down into your inner consciousness and say whether or not things are really as this smasher of idols thinks them."

But the time was not ripe for such a publication. More people were disgusted than pleased with Brann's bold mistreatment of things sacred to popular opinion, and the paper suspended publication after a few issues. Brann returned to St. Louis, where he began to work again on the staff of the Globe-Democrat, and to give lectures, the result of his thinking on popular subjects and of his articles in the Iconoclast. After a brief stay in St. Louis, he went to San Antonio, Texas, where for two years he served as editor of the Express, a large and influential newspaper. That his editorials shocked some readers goes without saying. Particularly aggrieved were various ministers of that city at the theological views he aired through the columns of his paper. But the management of the Express stood behind him and supported him, so that his career here was successful and happy. Numerous demands on his time were made by women's clubs, political gatherings, veterans' meetings, and the like; and among the subjects on which he lectured were "Gall," "Humbugs," and "Iconoclasm." Brann may have intended to remain for a long time in regular newspaper work. At any rate, in the early spring of 1894 he sold his printing press and the name "Iconoclast" to W. S. Porter ("O. Henry"), of Austin.

Keeping the name "Iconoclast," Porter began to publish a humorous weekly paper. But he had issued only two numbers when Brann decided to resign as editor of the Express, to go to Waco, and to re-issue his paper there. At the latter's request Porter surrendered the name, and happily re-christened his paper The Rolling Stone. In the summer of 1894, then, Brann moved to Waco, and in the following February began there the publication of the Iconoclast. From the very first it was successful, and at the time of his death, four years later, it had reached a circulation of ninety thousand. As all of Brann's literary work, with the exception of his lectures, was done for the Iconoclast, a discussion of the paper itself will not be out of place.

The Iconoclast posed as a great religious monthly, and assailed only those things which it believed to be detrimental to society. The field of Texas was, in Brann's eyes, white with the harvest, though laborers were few. He declared, at the beginning of his "ministry," that "Texas can furnish a fourth more hidebound dogmatists, narrow-minded bigots, and intolerant fanatics in proportion to population than can any other section of the United States." To him this was preeminently the age of artificiality. He believed that what was untrue should be attacked, that an uncompromising war should be waged on lies and shams. Iconoclasm, from his point of view, was not the desecration of a shrine but the abatement of a nuisance. "I have striven," he said shortly before his death, "to break foolish idols and shatter false ideals, to hurl unclean gods from their pedestals in the public pantheon. A work of destruction is not, I admit, of a high order. Anybody may destroy; it requires a genius to build up. . . . But destruction is sometimes necessary."

In his writings it is most frequently as a smasher of idols that Brann appears; and this attitude arose from the fact that he took the worst possible view of everything. A dreamer, an idealist, he set the standard at unattainable heights, and attacked everything that did not reach the heights. No one could be sure which side Brann would take on any point. The spirit of perversity seemed to dominate his utterances. One suspects that he often deliberately chose the unpopular side; for an iconoclast has no joy in breaking into bits an idol which all agree in abhorring. That were too tame a sport. He must rather startle the world by smashing some God whom all would worship. One is not surprised, then, to find Brann declaring that the system of tipping one's inferiors should be encouraged, since it is the result of prosperity in a free and democratic land; that prejudice against prize-fighting is puerile and senseless; that the public's craze for such grossly immoral books as Trilby and Quo Vadis is a sign of decaying mentality and morbid sensuality.

Brann seems to have been born at least a decade too soon. He may be regarded as the immediate predecessor of those present-day writers who have busied themselves in tearing down tradition. To tear down traditions, to show that the ideals we cherish, the heroes we reverence, the festivities we

celebrate are foolish, immoral, and baseless is a distinctively modern tendency. We are becoming accustomed to hearing that the Monroe doctrine is an obsolete shibboleth, that George Washington cursed, drank, and lied; that July 4 had no connection with the Declaration of Independence. A few of us are old-fashioned enough to think that a man who holds up to ridicule traditions that have been made sacred by years of belief and association merits severe condemnation. But some people enjoy sacrilege, and to this class Brann appealed. His dictum, for instance, that the Monroe doctrine is not and should not be observed has not been surpassed in logic or forcefulness by that of any later writer. In other ways Brann showed that he was born before his time. His belief that legislative regulation of the saloon is undesirable because it is contrary to personal liberty, though the pièce de résistance of all subsequent anti-prohibitionists, has never been set forth with more power or with greater sincerity: and his remarks on the subjects of germs considerably antedate those of latter day germ-maniacs.

Whatever one may think of Brann the man or Brann the iconoclast, one must admit that Brann's every utterance had the ring of perfect sincerity and of absolute confidence in the justice of his action in rending apart an idol. He thought himself sincere; and that alone is the test of a man, though it is by no means convincing proof that he is actually sincere. For one may become so accustomed to image-breaking that he is unhappy when his hand lacks a hammer; he is so filled with the mission which providence, he thinks, has given him that he looks for new objects to attack, he creates them if need be. Apparently when this iconoclast ran out of a topic which really needed words of fire, he surveyed mankind from China to Peru until he found some sore in need of treatment. Nor was his treatment so delicate as to cure the diseased spot. Thus in several papers he defended the Jew, and succeeded only in offending both Jew and Christian. So, too, his diatribes against the "pernicious habit" of giving money to foreign missions could convince only an ignorant miser, while they deeply wounded those people who were really charitable.

Obviously Brann gave outsiders a false notion of Texas.

In his treatment of the negro question he transcends all bounds of decency and decorum; and one suspects that his violent statements were due, largely at least, to his ever-present desire to electrify a phlegmatic and stupid world into thinking. Brann, of course, had some excuse for his anathemas. Every southerner knows the wildness of passion that, after a brutal outrage has been committed by a negro, sweeps through a mob and transforms law-abiding, peaceful citizens into veritable demons. When Brann began to write there had been many such outrages. At this time, furthermore, Mr. George W. Cable had alienated the people of his state and section by caustic and apparently disloyal remarks on the negro question. Brann took up the gauntlet, though he should have been aware that the negro is not an idol to be shattered,—that the negro is here, and that, if his presence be deplored, he must remain. In two or three editorials Brann aroused the unquenchable ire of the northern press as well as the scorn of those southerners who could then view the problem clear-headedly. With a multitude of details appalling in their awfulness, with a vindictiveness that is almost unbelievable. Brann reached the conclusion, and reiterated it in every article on this subject, that since "ten thousand years of civilization and education could no more raise to the intellectual level of a lousy ape the piebald jackass who presides over the destinies of the Houston Post," "if the South is ever to rid herself of the negro she must take a day off and kill every member of that accursed race that declines to leave the country."

Even giving Brann credit for sincerity, this is sensationalism of the most opprobrious type. Yet it must be borne in mind that he was subconsciously searching heaven and earth for something to destroy; and his search often led him into brutality and coarseness. One can only stand amazed at his bitter personal attacks. On several occasions he wrote articles dealing with marriages of American heiresses to foreign noblemen,—brutally, coarsely, vulgarly. If the modern newspaper has adopted a similar attitude of ridicule, it has not dared to approach the matter altogether in Brann's vein. The wedding of a prominent New York girl and an English duke was approaching. Brann broke out into a rhapsody of coarseness. After remarks, too indecent to quote, on the origin of the engaged couple, he concludes by describing the bride as "a long, gaunt, skinny young female whose face would frighten any animal but a pauper duke out for the dough," and the groom as "a tough of toughs; he has a head like a Bowery bouncer and the mug of an ape who has met with an accident." What Brann hoped to gain by his vulgarity cannot be ascertained, unless indeed it was to increase the circulation of his paper among a certain low class of readers.

At times the *Iconoclast* contained articles of milder tone. On occasion, the editor would write a careful exposition of picturesque American types, such as the drummer and the locomotive engineer. On other occasions he would take cudgels against such great public nuisances as the indiscriminate granting of pensions; or he would write a book review, charming in its incisive theory and its happy judgments. Had he turned his attention solely to literary criticism, Brann might have made a name for himself. The extensive range of his knowledge of literature, the bitter hatred he felt for shams and for the unreal in fiction, the genuine appreciation he had for worthy books,—this fitted him for criticism. Perhaps there are no more appreciative studies extant that his papers on Carlyle and Hugo's *Les Misérables*, though each is marred by the intrusion of disputatious irony.

If sometimes Brann suffered from a paucity of real or imaginary evils to combat, other subjects came readily to hand. Subscribers were constantly writing to him, expressing views at variance with his. Unless they wrote to secure an unenviable publicity, their motive is not evident. For in answering them, Brann piled epithet upon epithet, taunt upon taunt, higher and more viciously than ever Jupiter piled mountains upon his recalcitrant Titans! To a certain A. L. Jenks, who was imprudent enough to write Brann of having discovered a grammatical error in the *Iconoclast*, Brann replied by "putting his name in print and immortalizing him as the prize jackass of his day." The said Jenks has since retired into oblivion; but the incident illustrates Brann's character. He cared nothing for the feelings of people. He felt obliged

to hammer them into nothingness, if only to have something to say.

As for grammar, one may rest assured that a grammatical error in Brann's writings was due to deliberate intention or to careless proof-reading. The man was a master of secondrate English-of "journalese." One enthusiastic Texas newspaper eulogized him as being "the most vigorous manipulator of the English language to be found in the entire South," while a certain biographer has called him "one of the most brilliant journalists on the American continent." But English, as he wrote it, became a curious hybrid of journalism and oratory, with perhaps the latter element predominating. For this reason pages from the Iconoclast read as if taken down verbatim from the heedless lips of an impassioned demagogue. Thrilling eulogy, bitter denunciation, scorching invective, biting satire; carefully balanced sentences with triads and periods worthy of a Burke; a constant persuasive element that stirs in the reader's breast latent feelings, awakens smouldering fires, and forces the reader, who is for the moment hypnotized, into agreeing with Brann,-an element that overwhelms the emotions into acquiescence while the intellect is unconvinced; always a delight in reducing his opponent's argument to an absurdity; a use of false analogy, of vulnerable premises that lead to fallacious conclusions; but occasionally a logic that is incontrovertible; -such is Brann's oratory. The journalistic element is represented in another way: by the force and vividness of a writer who knows the value of space and who has a message to deliver: by the continual use of striking narrative to illustrate a point by frequent relapses into slipshod expression and inflated diction; by satire and ridicule that sting as a whip of scorpions.

Above all else Brann was a master of vocabulary. Generalization is dangerous; but probably no other American author has equalled him in range of vocabulary. This is the more remarkable when one considers that Brann's entire work has recently been issued in two small volumes and that he was writing for the mass. That he addressed himself to the crowd did not deter him. In contradistinction to the modern magazine editor he did not write to please his subscribers but merely to

please himself. There is no feebleness nor fumbling in his work. His diction is always vigorous and often happy. Though at times he sinks into a use of gross slang, this is rarely the case; and the reader who is anxious to increase his vocabulary need not wade through Carlyle's involved pages when the *Iconoclast* is near. Such words, for example, as "ligniyoni," "panjandrum," snickersnee," "thaumaturgy," "ollapodrida," "brummagem," "ygdrangl" would usually stamp a newspaper writer as a pedant; but they flow from Brann's pen with the utmost ease.

Just as his vocabulary would seem to have put him above his subscribers, so his habit of making copious allusions to literature and science, to biography and history, must have kept him from being more popular. Macaulay himself must vield the palm to Brann in this respect; for Brann brings in his references more cleverly, if that be possible, and certainly more clearly than does Macaulay. The quantity and the quality of the education the iconoclast acquired is nothing short of marvelous. Blessed with a wonderfully retentive memory, for every point he mentioned came to his mind a flood of illustrative quotations and examples. In literature Shakespeare, the Bible, mythology, and the Romantic poets seem to have influenced him most. But on every page of the Iconoclast there are illuminating references to ancient and modern history, to Milton and Pope, Dryden and Swift, Chaucer and Spencer, Goethe and Dante, quotations in the original Greek, Latin, French, German, and Spanish. One must read the Iconoclast with a dictionary of phrase and fable in his hand.

Brann did not often fall into the modern habit of using slang as a short cut to expression; but when he does use slang, it is usually neither picturesque nor expressive, but is apt to be both ugly and brutal. The same may be said of his attempts at humor. Brann was always satiric, and his efforts at pure humor are as rare as they are Procrustean and elephantine. An example may be seen in such articles as that which bur esques the Biblical story of Elisha. Here the humor is secured by the introduction of modern comparisons and modern phraseology, and grows out of the grotesque dissimilarity between subject-matter and expression. Sometimes he se-

cures humorous effects by a *stimmungbrechung* like that affected by Heine; by saying, for instance, "Alexander of Macedon was the most miserable failure known to human history with the possible exception of Grover Cleveland."

The average reader will be displeased with the familiar, flippant way in which Brann treats sacred things. He was no respecter of persons, he was often boldly irreverent. The Bible, as he saw it, was a combination of great lies, obscenities, and untruths; and unless in an expurgated edition was no more suited to an adolescent reader than the Decameron; the stories of Elijah and the fiery chariot, of Elisha and the child-devouring bears he pronounced colossal lies, which he planned to omit in his version of the Bible. His manner of dealing with things religious is shown in "A Vision of Heaven," where he asked St. Peter about Judas, and on hearing that he is in hell for selling his Savior, retorts: "Yes, yes; but he had the decency to go hang himself. Now there was another disciple who went back on his Master because he feared the rabble would ride him on a rail, then sat down and bawled like a snanked baby because he was a born coward:" and in "Heaven and Hell," where he reaches the conclusion that all the happy and just spirits are in hell. Such gargoylean humor shocks the reader, who feels that Brann was both grotesque and sacrilegious.

In reality, however, Brann was not irreligious but unreligious. He belonged to no particular cult or church, but, as many greater minds have done, he worked out for himself his own religion. Although he had no idea of a definite God, he worshipped a Master of the Universe who revealed himself in Nature. Hence he was absolutely intolerant of denominational rules and beliefs. To obey man-made laws of conduct was abhorrent; to obey a god's laws, as he interpreted them, was essential; and Brann tried to do what he believed right. Intolerance he despised and anathematized. Yet he fell into the besetting sin of iconoclasts and non-conformists, becoming as intolerant as any religious sect, ridiculing those whose views conflicted with his own, and calling them, in no uncertain terms, fools and blockheads.

During his life he was often called a pessimist and replied

bitterly to the charge. But the fact remains that he was not only a pessimist but also a misanthrope. He had so trained himself to look for shams and falsehood that he saw the world through jaundiced eyes. The things dreamt of in his philosophy were too fair for this earth to produce. One may mourn at man's inhumanity to man, but to let this inhumanity spoil his whole outlook on life is foolish. Brann took himself and his fellows too seriously, with the result that he grew to consider himself the appointed judge of the world, and rendered his "apostolic" dicta with a most offensive air of superiority. Is there another instance in history of a magazine which contained nothing but the editor's personal views dogmatically and superciliously stated?

The very nature of the magazine was such as to bring trouble. The editor would have done well to have confined his smashing to far-away idols and to have ignored local evils. But in early issues the Iconoclast entered into a quarrel with Baylor University,—a Baptist college located in Waco,—and in the course of time assailed the reputations of its faculty and students in so bitter a manner that a tragic outcome was to be expected. The state and the town of Waco split into factions, one faction siding with Baylor, the other with Brann. The newspapers of the state defended or condemned Brann according to predilection, while the Iconoclast reiterated with appalling vindictiveness the statement that "there is not water enough in all the oceans to wash the dark stain from the escutcheon of this Baptist college." In the riot that followed, students of the University mobbed the office of the Iconoclast and would doubtless have mobbed Brann had be been visible. The feud continued to grow. Instead of allowing the quarrel to drop after he had done what he considered his duty, Brann grew more and more bitter in his utterance. His editorials became all but unbearable. The whole state reached a pitch of excitement that is indescribable.

Brann had many local adherents. In the summer of 1897 when the quarrel was waxing stronger, Col. G. B. Gerald, of Waco, wrote a defense of Brann and sent it to the *Times-Herald* for publication. But the editor, J. W. Harris, refused to publish it; when Gerald called for the manuscript hard

words were passed between him and Harris, and a fist fight resulted, in which Gerald was worsted. Harris was seized with a severe illness, and while he was confined to his room Gerald published and scattered broadcast circulars in which he told of the fight and bitterly denounced the editor. The nonchalance of the press and the public is almost incredible. Both agreed that this trouble would result in death, but neither tried to prevent it. On November 20, 1897, Harris appeared on the streets, which, because it was election day, were thronged with people. Surrounded by a group of friends, he was talking in front of a drug store when he saw Gerald approaching; and with a word of warning to his friends he opened fire on Gerald. In the duel that followed I. W. Harris, the editor, and his brother, W. A. Harris, were killed, Gerald was severely wounded, and several by-standers were struck by flying bullets.

The excitement in the city may well be imagined. It reached its climax on Monday, when the Harris men were buried in a double grave. Curiously enough, no one had words of blame for Gerald. Instead everyone agreed in placing the blame on Brann. The funeral was attended by three thousand people, the students and faculty of Baylor attending en masse and sending a huge floral design in which the word "Honor" was woven in immortelles. The Reverend Mr. Carroll, who conducted the obsequies, "took up Brann and the Iconoclast and indulged in strong denunciations of the publications, which he said were the seed of the whirlwind now being reaped in Waco, the complete harvest of which has not yet been garnered; if Waco allowed the publication to go on, the death of the Harris brothers would be followed by other calamities and woes." 1

There was truth in this prophecy. Though for a time Brann himself was sobered, yet possessed of the fine frenzy of a man who is absolutely convinced that a wrong has been done and that he is the only person capable of righting it, he soon began his attacks again, even bringing his indictments of Baylor into his celebrated lecture on "Gall." In the spring of 1898 these attacks became especially virulent; and patrons of

¹ The Dallas News, November 22, 1897.

the University who were educating daughters there found the *Iconoclast* indecent, unendurable. Particularly angered was Captain T. E. Davis. The ill feeling between Brann and Davis was increased by the malice of tale-bearers.

On April 1 the expected happened. Brann and his business-manager, W. H. Ward, were passing down a crowded street, when Davis stepped out of his office and shot the Iconoclast in the back. He turned, fumbling for his pistol. Ward sprang forward and grabbed Davis's arm. As he did so, Davis fired, the ball shattering Ward's hand and forcing him to release his hold. By this time the duelists were within five feet of each other, firing. Riddled with bullets, Davis fell to the pavement, but Brann continued to fire until he was tardily arrested. Other details will be spared. If one wished to go on, he might tell of the duel between friends of Brann and Davis that followed two days later and barely missed a tragic issue. As a commentary on the times, one may say that the Austin Evening News in reporting this duel, closed by remarking; "It is only a question of time, however, till one or both will bite the dust and add one or more killings to the annals of Waco." 2

Brann and Davis died on Sunday, April 2, the one in the early morning, the other in the afternoon; and both were buried on Monday. The funeral of Brann was the most remarkable ever seen in Texas. Two bands playing solemn dirges led the procession, which stretched out for two miles. All classes of people attended. A Dallas News reporter wrote: "Among those who followed the Apostle to his grave were several persons of note whom he assailed in the Iconoclast when with a pen of fire he was uttering his brilliant diatribes, attacking whom he pleased and how he pleased. His fierce philippics were no longer remembered against him Smiles of admiration and frowns of hatred greeted Brann all his life and in his death he got tears and grief even from his foes. His life awakened all emotions, but his death moved people to tears only and tender regret." ⁸

There are only two ways of judging Brann. Either he was

² April 4, 1898.

⁸ April 3, 1898.

sincere, or else he deliberately sought attention, hiding his real character behind a mask of hypocrisy. The latter notion is untenable and would be disputed both by those who knew the man personally and those who read him sympathetically. Obviously, Brann believed himself to be always on the side of right and justice. Yet he was too violent to be a reformer. Great reformers are seldom violent iconoclasts. They always, however, center their powers on the achievement of one aim. But Brann having no specific aim, preferring to assume the prodigious task of righting all public and personal evils, and trying to succeed by the sheer force of his knock-down-anddrag-out blows, actually attained little. He was dealing largely, too, with problems of ethics and personal conduct, in the solution of which violence can have no part. Nothing violent, says an old proverb, endures. With judicial calmness and fairness, Brann would have been a power, for he had the courage of his convictions as well as the ability to express them forcefully, clearly, logically. As it was, he failed in his purpose of casting out unclean gods; in him one sees the pathetic sight of real genius wasted, of talent degenerated into mediocrity, of intellect devoted only to ephemerals.

Since his death there has sprung up a horde of cheap imitators who have preserved his coarseness without possessing his earnestness. Only genuine feeling can make iconoclasm tolerable, and genuine feeling Brann indisputably had; it is probably because of this that Brann's collected works are still occasionally read. His manner might attract modern readers, but never his matter. That condemns him to oblivion. Depending on current events for his material, Brann wrote "timely" stuff which has long since ceased to be of interest. Though he was a kind of glorified muckraker, he must share the fate of all mere journalists. But his picturesqueness and originality should at least help to keep his name prominent in the list of American journalists.

The New Feminism in Literature

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One hears much about the new feminist movement these days. Indeed, it is a topic so widely discussed that the writer who essays it runs the risk of being wearisomely trite. It is a far cry from the ancient to the modern, and in some respects it is almost as far a cry from the dawn of modern times to these later days. The hairy cave-man cudgeling his chosen mate into a receptive attitude; the genteel Elizabethan baronet flogging his grown daughter; the eighteenth-century vicar dilating upon the evils of giving "decently bred young females" too much book-learning—what a contrast are these to present-day mere man, who, in gracious eagerness or in sullen obedience, bows lower and lower to the eternal feminine! Verily, in this era of bachelor girls, lady doctors of philosophy and medicine, suffragists, and militant and non-militant suffragettes, feminism is a much alive movement.

Yet one of the most striking phases of the new movement has been allowed to pass almost unnoticed: namely, the increasing activity of women as producers of real literature. The terms "ancient bard" and "ancient historian" are almost as suggestive of masculinity as "blacksmith" and "hod-carrier" and "bricklayer." Sappho was a great genius, but she was a lonely figure beside Homer and Theocritus and Pindar, Virgil and Horace and Ovid, and the other male singers of olden times. One must go to very modern history to find record of many literary women. A comparison of eighteenth and nineteenth century English literature affords an amazing contrast, showing how few of the eminent British women of letters flourished prior to about 1800. Compare, for example, the mediocre Fanny Burney or Hester Thrale Piozzi with Mrs. Browning, who was, with Dante Gabriel Rossetti, one of the two foremost English sonneteers of the Victorian Era. Compare Miss Burney or Mrs. Piozzi with Rossetti's gifted sister Christina; or with Jane Austen, supreme realist of the Romantic Period; or with Mrs. Gaskell, author of the inimitable "Cranford"; or with Charlotte Bronte, creator of the immortal "Jane Eyre"; or with George Eliot, perhaps the greatest British novelist of all time.

Even sharper, in this respect, is the contrast between nineteenth and twentieth century American writers. To give a comprehensive list of the leading literary figures of what we may call our "Golden Age," we must, of course, include such names as Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, Holmes, Motley, Prescott, Thoreau, Whitman, Lowell, Parkman, Curtis, Taylor, Aldrich, Stedman, Timrod, Havne, Lanier, Harte, and Clemens. But where may we find a feminine name worthy of mention in that extensive list? True, there were women writers in the days of our fathers and grandfathers. There was Margaret Fuller, who was certainly a great thinker, but in no sense a great writer. There was Louisa M. Alcott, whose juvenile stories are thoroughly respectable and altogether charming, but fall far short of being distinctive in style, big in purpose, or significant in content. There was Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of a phenomenal best-seller which, everybody now admits, has been ridiculously overrated. There were Lydia Sigourney, Lucy Larcom, and the Cary sisters, estimable ladies who by their pretty inanity and innocuous platitudes rimed their way into the hearts of thousands of very nice people. There were Mary J. Holmes, Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, and Augusta J. Evans Wilson, perpetrators of some of the most consummate balderdash that ever found its way into cloth bindings. And so one might continue the comparison, did it not become so pitiably absurd.

The story of our twentieth-century literature, however, is a very different tale. Try to name a few of our best present-day writers. If you turn your attention to the field of bourgeois local-color realism, you cannot escape the names of Alice Brown, Mary E. Wilkins-Freeman, Mary S. Watts, and Kate Douglas Wiggin. If you think of interpreters of the life of metropolitan plutocracy and fashion, you will certainly mention Edith Wharton first of all. If you ponder upon creators of unforgettable characters and backgrounds, you will inevitably call to mind Margaret Deland, to whom we are so deeply indebted for Dr. Lavendar and Old Chester. If you look

70

southward, you will assuredly note Mary Johnston and Ellen Glasgow. If your chief interest is in the American essay, Agnes Repplier is bound to claim much of your attention. And if you would record the names of our best living poets, you must, bevond the shadow of a doubt, mention Edith M. Thomas, Lizette Woodworth Reese, Florence Earle Coates, Fannie Stearns Davis, Sarah N. Cleghorn, and Sara Teasdale in lyrical verse, and Josephine Preston Peabody in the poetic drama. So runs the list, until one is tempted to throw up one's hands in dismay and exclaim, "Where are the men of yesteryear?" Of course we have our men writers nowadays too-some highly meritorious ones-but neither you nor I should be eager to assume the task of presenting a male list more impressive than the list which I have just finished. Particularly in the realm of fiction would such a task be difficult. Apropos of this, I recently made an interesting discovery. I went through files of one of our three leading illustrated magazines, a periodical which sells for thirty five cents a copy. I compared an 1885 volume with a volume for 1910. In the former, I found, only eight per cent of the fiction and thirty-three per cent of the verse was from the pens of women. In the latter, I noted, fifty-four per cent of the fiction and approximately the same percentage of the verse was furnished by women writers. Similar investigations of other standard magazines showed the above figures to be thoroughly representative. And this new trend is by no means confined to the literature of our own country. Witness the success of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Mrs. Alice Meynell, and May Sinclair in England; Emilia Pardo-Bazan in Spain; Ada Negri and Matilda Serao in Italy; Madame de Martel ("Gyp") in France: Gertrude Bosboom-Toussaint and Adele Opzoomer in Holland; Clara Viebig, Gabriele Reuter, and Ricarda Huch in Germany; Baroness von Suttner in Austria; Amalie Skram in Norway; Alfhild Agrell, Matilda Malling, Selma Lagerloef, and Ellen Key in Sweden; Isabella Kaiser and Adele Huguenin in Switzerland; and Carmen Sylva in Roumania.

The causes of this tremendous growth of feminism in literature, it is altogether unnecessary to discuss here. We must leave such matters to sociologists and psychologists. Suffice it to say that certain important economic changes, such as

the invention of machinery and the general modern tendency toward urbanization, which have taken women out of the seclusion of the home into business, higher education, the professions, and politics, have likewise given her a footing in the world of letters. So in general we may say that women are becoming writers for the same reason that they are becoming clerks, stenographers, sanitary policemen, lawyers, legislators, college professors, or clergymen. But, you may say, feminism is gaining much more ground in literature than in certain other fields-science, for instance. Unquestionably! But let us consider that matter a little later.

Meanwhile we may very well speculate as to the possible results of this new movement. Absurd as it may seem, one is sometimes prone, in view of present tendencies, to dream of the time when the male writer will be as thoroughly obsolete as the Inquisition, mediaeval armor, the sedan-chair, or the powdered wig. Indeed, if one has a fairly active imagination, one may fancy the schoolmistress of the twenty-fifth century saying to her pupils: "Yes, Arnold Bennett and William Watson were their real names. Back in the twentieth century, you see, men wrote some of the novels and poetry; and only a couple of centuries earlier, nearly all literature was produced by men."

But, jesting aside, what will be the result if feminism continues to assume a greater and greater relative importance in our literature? Will it be merely an interesting phenomenon, with no more practical bearing upon life than the shape of a fern or the color of a robin's egg; or will it change radically the character of our poetry and our fiction, our essays and our other works of literature? The answer to this question must, I think, be largely psychological; and here we may revert to the query: Why is feminism gaining more ground in literature than in certain other fields?

In some lines of activity, feminism has never taken a firm hold and never will take a firm hold. For very good physical reasons, women will never make up the rank and file of our armies, man our battleships, compose our league baseball teams, or fight our prize-fights. And for equally good, if less obvious, psychological reasons, women are unlikely to super72

sede men as bankers and merchants and civil engineers, or even as butchers and bakers and candlestick-makers. That there is such a thing as sex temperament is a proposition which has long ago passed from the theoretical to the axiomatic stage. As Professor George Trumbull Ladd remarks:1 "The sexual differences, on the psychological side, are as minute, pervasive, and influential as on the anatomical and physiological side." And as Professor Edward Alsworth Ross has pointed out ("Social Phychology," p. 17), women are more suggestible and more emotional than men. Is not this but another way of saying that women are more graphic, less logical; more concrete, less abstract; more sympathetic, less businesslike; more artistic, less scientific, than men? To quote Professor Ladd once more (p. 651): "There may be said to be a distinctively poetic, or-to use Lotze's word-'sentimental' temperament. The sentimental temperament is characteristically more feminine than masculine." Now it requires very little imagination, and practically no sentiment or emotion, to build a bridge or to determine the area of an oblate spheroid; but it requires an abundance of all of these qualities to paint a picture or to write a poem. But what of this? Well, the fact that in our co-educational colleges and universities an overwhelming majority of the students in science are males and a clear majority of the students in English literature are females depends, I believe, upon something far more fundamental than an accident imposed by tradition. To the end of time the average young man will be more interested in logarithms than in prosody, and the average young woman will be more inspired by Shelley or Tennyson than by calculus or chemistry.

And what does this presage? To prophesy or even dream of the ultimate extinction of the genus scriptor masculinus would be, as I have already indicated, exceedingly rash. Yet certain clear signs point to the possible advent of an era when literature will be considered as peculiarly a woman's function as darning stockings, working embroidery, or making chocolate fudge. That Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Balzac, and nearly all the other great writers of the past were men proves nothing. It simply means that literature

¹ Psychology, Descriptive and Explanatory, p. 653.

had to be produced, and that inasmuch as neither tradition nor training fitted women for literary pursuits, the men had to do the producing. Whatever one may think of the outcome of the new feminist movement in our literature, there is certainly nothing to warrant the assertion that the greatness of Homer and the rest of the geniuses I have mentioned was due to their sex. They may all of them have been great scientists or soldiers or merchant princes gone wrong. Wonderful as are "The Iliad," "Hamlet," "Paradise Lost," and "Faust," no one will maintain that they are the greatest writings which it is possible for human beings to produce. Perhaps the most characteristic of all poems or romances is yet to have its birth—in the brain of some inspired woman.

And if it so be, it is well. For nobly as men have wrought with the pen, they have, after all, been sorry bunglers. Fancy, for a moment, the young married man who is left at home alone for a few days, his wife and maid-servant having gone away on a short vacation. He gropes about from pantry to cellar, and from cupboard to china-closet, in a half dazed, altogether confused manner. His wife has told him where to find things, but he remembers the location of scarcely a single article. He tries clumsily, by turns, to make his bed, cook something edible for lunch, and set the table. He is a half humorous, half pathetic figure. But he is neither more humorous nor more pathetic than a Dickens trying to be as emotional as a woman or a Cooper trying to interpret woman-nature. The feminist movement in literature is still very young, but its peculiarly strong significance is becoming more and more evident. Even now, whenever we wish to prove that a realist does not have to be a pessimist, we cite a woman, George Eliot, as the supreme evidence. And it required a woman, Josephine Preston Peabody, to demonstrate that an American play can be truly literary and actable at the same time. Why, then, may we not confidently declare that the great hope for literature in the future lies in feminism? Perhaps we are yet to see the advent of a supreme woman literary genius, a genius more remarkable than the world has yet known, a genius having the emotional warmth and tender sympathies of a Dickens, without his pathos: the microscopically accurate insight of a Thomas Hardy, without his gloom or cynicism; the fervid passion of a Swinburne, without his Pagan sensuality; the comprehensive human breadth of a Shakespeare, with some additional merits all her own. Who shall assert that the new feminist movement in literature is merely a phase of the general emancipation of woman from her ancient bondage, meaning everything to woman and nothing to literature? Who shall say that it is not infinitely more: the emancipation of literature from the crudeness of masculinity?

Lord Granville's Line

ALFRED J. MORRISON

Sir George Carteret, one of the Proprietaries of Carolina, died an old man in the year 1680. He was the son of Helier de Carteret of St. Ouen in the island of Jersey, and was bred to the sea. The Civil Wars coming on, George Carteret held out for the King and acted very prejudicially to interests of the Parliament in Jersey, where he had grown to be a man of authority. Lord Chancellor Hyde, (himself for a time a Proprietary of Carolina), who during his stay in Jersey knew Carteret well, describes him as "the most generous man in kindness and the most dexterous man in business ever known. And besides his other parts of honesty and discretion, he was undoubtedly as good, if not the best seaman in England." At the Restoration, Sir George Carteret was made Treasurer of the Navy. He was an efficient executive, and would have his way in all things. Pepys was at the Navy Office then and has confirmed Lord Clarendon's opinion of the Treasurer's aptitude for business. Pepys notes, "Sir George Carteret is a man that do take the most pains." Pepys remarks that the Treasurer's scholarship was small-the letters S. P. Q. R. he did not know the meaning of, "which ignorance is not to be borne in a privy counsellor, methinks, what a schoolboy would be whipped for not knowing."

The intention was to raise Sir George Carteret to the peerage. He dying, his son George was created, in 1681, Baron Carteret of Hawnes. John Carteret, son of the second George, was born in 1690, his mother being Lady Grace Granville, youngest daughter of John, first Earl of Bath. We thus learn the genealogy of counties of Carolina. In 1715, Lady Carteret was, by the new government, made Viscountess Carteret, and Countess Granville with remainder to her son John.

John Carteret was a student at Oxford and not without result. He knew greatly more of the classics than the meaning of S. P. Q. R., later indeed stood well up with those classical statesmen who have been provided with book learn-

Swift said of John Carteret's Oxford days, "with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, and Philosophy than properly became a person of his rank, indeed, much more of each than most of those who are forced to live by their learning will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with." John Carteret possessed the modern languages as well. He was sent in 1719 ambassador extraordinary to Sweden, and the next year, with a like designation, to the Congress of Brunswick. In 1721 he was a Secretary of State. He worked against Walpole, and being able to speak German had a certain advantage with the first King George, who could speak no English, and was resigned to talk with Walpole in bits of Latin. However, Carteret was sent away Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1724, which was evidence that Walpole was the stronger. He was a second time Lord Lieutenant in 1727, leaving Ireland in 1730. In Ireland Carteret was intimate with Doctor Swift, although he would allow the Dean no direct influence in the affairs of the country. Swift said of him "he had a genteeler manner of binding the chains of the Kingdom than most of his predecessors." Carteret said, "When people ask me how I governed Ireland, I say that I pleased Doctor Swift."

Carteret, by the critical Chesterfield's account, was one of the best speakers in the House of Lords. In 1741 he addressed that house on the subject of Walpole, to remove Walpole "from the King's presence and counsels for ever." In 1742, Walpole having been removed, C. reteret was again a Secretary of State, and the man at court of most influence with the King. This ascendency was short lived. Pitt was coming up, had his way to make, and was very abrupt in his handling of Carteret. Carteret, now Earl of Granville, was President of the Council in 1751. His last recorded speech was made in 1758. He died in 1763. Of the five great men of his time, it was Horace Walpole's opinion that Lord Granville was the greatest in some respects—"Lord Granville was most a genius of the five; he conceived, knew, expressed what he pleased."

To say nothing of the Baltimores,—Lord Fairfax in Virginia, and Lord Granville of Carolina must be interesting figures to the reader of American colonial history. Lord

Fairfax dying at the end of the old era, a bachelor, his guitrent estates were taken over by Virginia at a stroke of the pen. The Granville lands were not technically independent perhaps, until 1812. The following, through generations, of British titles of honor may not be accomplished unless by the assistance of those skilled in these matters. It should seem that the only persons called Lord Granville who have had any sort of title to Carolina were John Carteret and his son Robert. As a Proprietary of Carolina by inheritance John Carteret had refused to sell to the crown in 1729. On the death of his mother. Carteret succeeded to the title in 1744 as Earl of Granville. He was followed by his son. Robert. who died in 1776. The title was then extinct. The Barony of Carteret was revived in 1784, for a grandson of John Carteret, Earl of Granville, and was again extinct on the death in 1849 of John Thynne, third Lord Carteret.1

The line of Granville, that is to say, has not run a straight course for long. But in Carolina today, as any one may see, there is a "Lord Granville's Line," direct and far-extended. Shortly after the Revolution Major Joseph Graham of Mecklenburg County in North Carolina, (father of that Secretary of the Navy under whom Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan was organized), drew off a map of the county of Mecklenburg, the northern boundary of which, running a straight course east and west, he called "Lord Granville's Line." The map of the North State has changed with the years, but on that in usage now this is a mark of delimitation traceable much beyond the borders of Mecklenburg County. Beginning at the River Cape Fear on the east, this line (by latitude) shows the northern limits of Moore, Montgomery, Stanly, Cabarrus, Mecklenburg, and Lincoln counties. It would be of interest to know why the line was not continued to the east of the Cape Fear. However, this is Lord Granville's Line.

The history of British liberty is full of strange cases. This is one of them. When Charles II granted Carolina to certain of his subjects, it was the clear understanding that the tenants in the new world of those subjects were to be

¹ See, Dictionary of National Biography, Sub Carteret.

78

free as any English freemen. The Proprietors were looked upon as rent, or tax receivers, associates of the King privileged in this way. Both the executive and the people held the arrangement to be one merely of courtesy. Indeed, as time went on, the Carolinians, under their proprietary charter. came to think of themselves as the "most favored nation" of America. Certainly their acts, from an early time, were those of a people who fancied themselves free. As has been remarked of them,-"If ever a people were estopped by their record from pleading habitual reliance on purely judicial methods for redress of grievances, the people of North Carolina would seem to be that people." The Granville lands, covering a full half of the territory of North Carolina, were a matter of sore grievance. During the Colonial period the Crown could not be unaware of this, nor blind to the fact that itself was losing sensibly by the last remaining Proprietary. And yet the Crown left Lord Granville and his son undisturbed in their rights, as under the Act of Parliament of 1729; and after the Revolution the people of North Carolina submitted to be haled into court by the heirs of the last Lord Granville, the case falling in one process of law. Are not these things matter of wonderment?

It is not at once apparent why John Carteret's share of Carolina was not set off to him until 1744, immediately upon his becoming Earl of Granville. Carteret at that time was at his height of influence. The formal transfer to him of his one-eighth part of Carolina was made in September, 1744. The description in the deed, so to call it, was along lines unjust to North Carolina. Instead of making the two Carolinas share somewhat equally in the transfer, the instrument constituted the Earl of Granville lord of a territory wholly within North Carolina,-half the present area of that State, from the Virginia line to a line running west to the Mississippi in latitude 35° 34'. Thus the land-tax of South Carolina went to the Crown, and in some measure back to the people of the colony: whereas in North Carolina the land-tax went, near half of it through the hands of Lord Granville's agents. In 1754 the Lords of Trade made a representation to the King, "that a great cause of the decrease in the quit-rents of the province of North Carolina is the grant made by your Majesty to the Earl of Granville in 1744 of all that part of the Province which lyes between the northern boundary next Virginia and the latitude of 35 degrees 34 minutes to the south, with the arrears of quit rents, annual rents, issues, and profits thereof."

In 1753 Bishop Spangenberg of the Moravian Church had purchased of the Earl of Granville some 98,000 acres of land, and settled there his estimable colony. It would no doubt have been well for the western people if more of the Granville lands could have been disposed of in similar large blocks under responsible management. As it was, the procedure seems to have been often one of vexation. In 1759, after settlers more to the east had seized upon Lord Granville's agents, (Corbin and Bodley), and forced them to give "extraordinary security to disgorge fees," Governor Dobbs wrote to the Lords of Trade—"But to lay open the cause and spring of that mob, I am under the necessity of hinting at part of the management of Lord Granville's agents as well in England as in this province." Governor Dobbs, who was a man of large experience and great good sense, charged that Lord Granville's agents were in concert to make the most of the fees and perquisites of his lordship's land-office, and that the surveyors and understrappers of the office were "going snacks," demanding fees of the people even to be admitted to the agent's presence for the purpose of entering lands. Governor Dobbs made the further statement that Lord Granville's agents, men holding high office in the Colony, were influential with the General Assembly and had contrived to kill any action in committee looking to a redress of these real grievances. The General Assembly flung it up to the Governor that he was doing nothing, was even encouraging infringements of Lord Granville's rights. These protestants of 1759 were followed in the next decade by the celebrated Regulators, the Regulators acting wantonly from similar causes, and having against them, from whatever motive, much of the recognized opinion of the Colony. But as late as 1772 Governor Martin (the last royal governor) recommended emphatically the purchase by the Crown of the Granville lands, understood to be held at a valuation of sixty to eighty thousand pounds sterling-not only as a good ten per cent investment, but "as a sure means of uniting his Majesty's people in this province, now held in division by the Proprietary, which erects a separate interest in its heart, and of giving permanent peace and felicity and

new prosperity to the whole country."

Times changed. In 1784 Alexander Martin, Governor of the new Commonwealth, transmitted to the General Assembly papers "setting up title on the part of the heirs of the late Earl of Granville to a certain territory in this state." This case finally came on in 1806 before the United States Circuit Court at Raleigh—Lord Granville's heirs vs the State of North Carolina. Chief Justice Marshall, from personal considerations, (a curious item), declined to sit, and the case was argued before Judge Potter. Under Judge Potter's charge, there was a verdict against the plaintiffs, and the matter went up by appeal to the United States Supreme Court. The case lingered there until the death of Francis Key, counsel for the plaintiffs, and was then dismissed for want of an appeal bond.²

So fell away in Carolina all title of the line of Carteret, beginning in the reign of the Second Charles. The Carteret papers, bearing on these intricate questions, should make valuable manuscript material, especially one document. liam Churton, who died in 1767, had been for almost twenty years surveyor in Lord Granville's land office. When Bishop Spangenberg was taking up his lands, Churton's instructions were to run no lines but north, south, east, and west. William Churton, (he lived for a time at Corbinton alias Hillsborough), had made very careful surveys of a great part of the lands within the Granville lines. After his death his papers came into the hands of Governor Tryon, who in a dispatch of the year 1763, says—"I enclose a letter of Captain Gordon, Chief Engineer in America, which will show you the opinion he entertains of this laborious work (Churton's maps). I am inclined to believe there is not so perfect a draft of so extensive an interior country in any other Colony in America." It is a fortunate circumstance, if these Granville lines have been preserved.

³ This matter wants clearing up. The progress of the case is stated differently by Chief Justice Clark in Weston vs. Lumber Co., 163 N. C., pp. 81-82. For a comparison, the curious are referred to 7 Cranch, pp. 684-696, and 1 Wheaton, pp. 562-597. Case Pairjax's Devisee vs. Hunter's Lessee.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CHANGING DRAMA. By Archibald Henderson. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1914,—321 pp.

In his latest book, "The Changing Drama," Professor Henderson has endeavored to write the history and the interpretation of the contemporary drama, and to do this by discovering and disclosing the real contributions of the modern school of dramatists. On the works of such playwrights as Ibsen, Björnson, Hauptmann, Strindberg, Maeterlinck, Brieux, Shaw, Gorky, Wederkind, Barker, St. John Hankin, Schnitzler, and Galsworthy he has based this study, but by no means does he limit his discussion to these writers, maintaining merely that these undoubtedly offer in their works such a sufficiently worthy and original contribution to dramatic literature as to demand a complete re-defining of the drama. He contends that the old definition is outworn and that to attempt to apply it longer is absurd and unjust. Dramatists have given up the old conception of the unities, and over their works "poetic justice," in the old sense, no longer holds sway. Of course, the author realizes that it is yet impossible to offer more than a suggestive definition, for the drama is a great living and evolving organism, as it were, and cannot be comprehended in a hard and fast definition. The one offered by Mr. Henderson is, therefore, hardly more than a general description of various types of the modern drama. This drama he finds, at its best and strongest, characterized by "merciless unmasking of conventional morality, of social hypocrisy, of conspiracies of silence." In it action, in the old sense of the term, has almost vanished, or has been entirely subordinated to character-revelation; and both action and character yield in importance to "the creation of a certain mood, a unity of impression." He contends that herein lies the supreme achievement of Ibsen, though he calls Shakespeare the first and greatest of the moderns in this respect. The reader finds it often difficult to distinguish what Mr. Henderson selects as his boundary line between the moderns and their predecessors. Is Shakespeare a modern dramatist or does he belong to the school of the past? On the same page where Schiller is referred to as an artist of the past, Goethe is named as a modern.

Mr. Henderson has made a fairly comprehensive study of the subject and has brought together in one volume much information that was formerly scattered in various books and magazine articles. Wide reading of both plays and dramatic criticism, first-hand acquaintance with modern stage innovations and conditions, deep and sympathetic interest in his subject are all evident in the book. At times, also, the author reveals striking ability as an interpreter of literature. And yet this book will hardly appeal to that "vast horde of infinitely ambitious playgoers" for whom primarily it must have been written. For, unfortunately, it must strike such a reader often as unpleasantly pedantic through the innumerable, often unnecessary, references to writers, plays, and even dramatic characters that are little known to him; through its oracular assertions thrown in without evident connection, and through the use of undefined technical terms cited with quotation marks. The style of the book is likewise marred by infelicities, though in its vocabulary it shows a great improvement over the author's earlier works. The majority of readers would welcome just such a book as this might have been, and the reviewer regrets that the author did not take much less for granted in the discussion of contemporary dramas. Likewise the deeper student of the drama, more familiar with the subject than the ordinary theatregoer, regrets to find in the book, in spite of its merits and its pioneer character, slips and omissions that cause him to question the soundness of its scholarship on those very points with which he is not familiar and on which he would like to consult it.

W. H. WANNAMAKER.

In 1789 the French part of Santo Domingo was the most prosperous of European colonies. Here lived some forty thousand whites and more than half as many free mulattoes

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN SAN DOMINGO. By T. Lothrop Stoddard. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914,—xviii, 410 pp.

engaged in the common exploitation of some half a million African slaves. But when the spirit of the French Revolution reached the island in September, 1789, factional quarrels began and a race war eventually ensued: the prosperity of the colony was completely destroyed, the white population annihilated, and the black republic of Haiti initiated. The complicated story of this "first great shock between the ideals of white supremacy and race equality" is told by Dr. Stoddard in a style at once simple, charming and scholarly. The first five chapters are of an introductory nature, as is fitting, and deal with the social and political conditions in the colony on the eve of the revolution. The remaining chapters deal with the factional quarrels and the military campaigns which led up to the great tragedy, the annihilation of the whites, and to the great comedy, the coronation, in 1804, of the negro Dessalines as Emperor of Haiti.

For the introductory chapters and the period of the Constituent Assembly, 1789-1791, the author had at his elbow half a dozen or more excellent monographs from which he drew freely and to which he always rendered due credit. In addition, he consulted some of the best known and most accessible printed sources, such as the writings of Moreau de Saint-Méry, Hilliard d'Auberteuil and Garran-Coulon. The reviewer has been able to test his accuracy of statement for this period and has discovered a few minor errors. Thus there were only thirty-one deputies elected for Santo Domingo to the Estates General (p. 75), and the admission of six was voted on July 4 instead of July 7 (p. 79). The entire thesis on page 85 is wrong. The "colonial deputy" made his proposal on November 26, and incidentally its defeat was compassed not by the Amis des Noirs, as stated, but by M. Blin, a friend and agent of the Massiac Club. The Grand Committee mentioned on page 120 was composed of only four smaller committees and not of five. On page 128 François Raymond is meant. But these errors detract little from the value of the book.

For the period of the Legislative Assembly and the Convention, 1791-1795, the author has drawn his information almost entirely from manuscript sources. He has exploited the vast collections of archival material preserved in Paris and

has shown rare skill in marshalling his facts thus gathered. His arrangement and interpretation do not seem to leave any ground for criticism. This is the best part of the book. The remaining chapters covering the period 1795-1804 are based on good secondary authorities supplemented by printed and manuscript sources.

The book makes a solid contribution to our knowledge of the French Revolution, and will not be found unattractive by the general reader. Indeed, as if to avoid even the appearance of technicality, the notes of reference are relegated to the back of the book; but the special student of history is not forgotten, for there follows a select, critical bibliography of sixteen pages. The work is so well done that gleaning in the same field hereafter will be discouraging.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

University of Michigan.

WAR'S AFTERMATH. By David Starr Jordan and Harvey Ernest Jordan. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914, —xxxi, 104 pp. \$.75 net.

"War's Aftermath" is an attempt to prove that the Civil War in the United States resulted in reversed selection, and depressed the racial worth of the American breed. Evidence of this anti-eugenic result is sought in the South merely because the South suffered, proportionately, to a severer degree than the North. Assuming that about 500,000 lives were lost by each side in the conflict, "this loss represented about two per cent of the white population of the North and about ten per cent of that of the South."

In recent years Dr. Jordan has devoted his great abilities to the cause of pacifism. In particular he has made himself the spokesman of the view that military selection is biologically destructive, and that war tends to eliminate the more valuable racial elements,—the sound, the sturdy, the courageous. This fact, generally admitted among thoughtful men, Dr. Jordan has used as a weapon for peace propaganda, and has possibly overstrained the significance of the contention in his books on "The Blood of the Nation" and "The Human Harvest."

The present little volume is the joint product of Dr. Jordan and his brother, Professor Harvey Ernest Jordan of the University of Virginia. The authors undertook their investigation with their conclusion already reached. The assumption was made at the beginning that the Civil War, by killing off a million of the best young men in the country, left the nation somewhat impoverished in the lack of their normal proportion of offspring. This book leaves that assumption neither stronger or weaker than it was at the start. It adduces no proof that the South is today, racially speaking, of poorer quality than before the war. It does not even furnish any conclusive or weighty evidence that the men who went to the front and perished were of better stuff than those who survived or stayed at home.

The authors, indeed, are candid enough to admit that they must rest their case on theory and probability rather than on scientific or historical evidence. They sum up their case (p. 79) as follows: "In brief, the theoretical argument for reversed selection seems beyond question. The actual facts concerning our Civil War and the events which followed yield no direct countervailing evidence. We must, therefore, decide that the war has seriously impoverished this country of its best human values."

The book, then, can lay no just claim to being authoritative. This is seen clearly when we come to examine the nature of the evidence brought forward. It consists almost entirely of the opinions—highly conflicting—collected from Confederate veterans. The authors prepared a list of thirty assertions and sent them "broadcast over the South," inviting comment. The nature of the questions can be understood from the following specimens:

- "3. War took only the physically fit; the physically unfit remained behind."
- "14. The public men of the South do not measure up to those of old times."
- "26. The war could have been avoided if patience and good sense had been shown."
- "29. The war made men work, and this alone has been a great blessing to the South."

The bulk of the book is given up to a record of the answers and comments of fifty-five of the replies received. Why these particular fifty-five replies were chosen we are not told. As may be judged from the specimens above some of the discussions are pertinent to the biological matter in hand, and some are entirely off the point. Naturally the widest diversity of belief and conjecture is revealed. Many of the comments, indeed, are interesting and keen. But considering the haphazard and conflicting nature of the opinions recorded, it is small wonder that the authors confess that from such evidence they "hesitate to attempt even a guarded definite conclusion!"

The spirit of the book is admirable. It is candid, kindly, non-partisan. There are hints, further, that the present report is preliminary to further investigation. May we be impertinent enough to suggest that the authors would have done themselves more honor and the world a better service, if they had delayed publication until they had secured results of a more substantial nature? From writers so distinguished we expect a work with results more definitive, with content less thin. Possibly, however, the purpose of the authors was to stimulate thought on the consequences of war. If such was their object the book is a success.

ROLAND HUGINS.

Cornell University.

THE WHIG PARTY IN THE SOUTH. By Arthur Charles Cole. Washington: The American Historical Association, 1914,-xii, 392 pp. This essay was awarded the Justin Winsor prize of the American Historical Association in 1912. In it the author has made a distinct achievement, the first cross-sectional study of political development in the South. Others have traced the course of politics in individual states; but here is the first effort to delineate the trend of party history in the South as a whole. Moreover the author is of northern birth and train-

the great collections of the North and West.

Approximately one-third of the work is devoted to the history of the Southern Whigs down to the election of 1844. The origin of the party in the union of diverse elements,

ing, and the sources used are almost exclusively those in

which normally were antagonistic, is outlined. It is interesting to note that Dr. Cole thinks that the first application of the name Whig to the nascent party was in South Carolina. The most distinctive feature of the early portion of the book is the description of the nationalizing process among the Southern Whigs. This is accounted for by social as well as economic influences, such as the fact that many prominent leaders of the party were men of northern birth who had removed south. It is at this point the reader must feel a certain limitation in the scope of the monograph; a chapter on the character of the party in the North and West and the relation of the leaders and local measures there with those in the South would have been most apt indeed.

Approximately one hundred pages are given to the question of expansion, the resulting slavery problem, and the controversies centering around the Compromise of 1850. With these came loss of leadership, even disintegration within the party, although the tide toward secession in the cotton states was temporarily stemmed. Concerning these matters there is abundance of detail. One aspect of the situation, however, is overlooked. That is the natural reaction against the Whigs in the South, irrespective of the difficult slavery problem. This took the form of a popular rising against aristocratic leadership and domination, and was led by such men as Holden in North Carolina and Joseph Brown in Georgia. Often it was allied with some local issue, such as widening the suffrage in North Carolina. The feeling of the reviewer is that this local movement coincided with the nation-wide desire for territorial expansion. Next it demanded that the territories should be opened to slavery, for thereby the men of small property might rise into the ranks of the large planters. Hence the most radical language about Southern rights in 1850 frequently came from the small, or the non-slaveholders. The fact that the Whigs, especially in the cotton belt, were well established economically made them conservative. Hence they led the union movement of 1851.

The last hundred and twenty-five pages outline the situation of the Southern Whigs from 1852 to 1861. One of the tragedies of party history is that those who stemmed the tide of secession in 1851 could not secure any promise of the finality of the compromise from their old allies in the North. Hence the temporary dissolution of the party in the South. The details of this situation, hitherto unexplored, are well presented. The revival of the party name and organization in 1859 is briefly described. But the campaign of 1860 is little more than mentioned, and the efforts to stem the tide of secession in the border states and the Upper South after the election are neglected.

There are seven excellent maps showing the distribution of the party vote.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

A FAR JOURNEY. By Abraham Mitrie Rihbany. Illustrated: Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914,—xiv, 352 pp. \$1.75 net.

This is the autobiography of one of those citizens of foreign birth who have found in America the land of opportunity and achievement. One naturally associates Mr. Rihbany with such other foreign-born Americans as Carl Schurz, Jacob A. Riis, and Mary Antin. In most respects the youth who came from Syria about twenty years ago experienced a change stranger and more surprising than those who have come to our shores from countries such as Germany, Denmark, and perhaps Russia. The Syrian came from a village where life and customs continued to be similar to what they were in the time of Christ. He crossed the gap from the Orient to modern America, and the story of his great adventure is a revelation of what America may mean to her adopted children.

The first seven chapters of the book deal with Mr. Rihbany's life in his father's house and at the mission school which gave him an impetus toward a more intimate knowledge of the western world. In the later chapters he tells the story of his life in America as bookkeeper, editor, lecturer, and pastor of the Church of the Disciples in Boston. The autobiography is a moving story of both material progress and spiritual growth. Combined with the sincerity and high idealism of the author is a keen sense of humor, which on many pages reveals itself in the writer's description of things American as seen

through Oriental eyes. Throughout the whole story there is a heartfelt appreciation of what the New World offers to humanity struggling upward.

GEORGE III AND CHARLES FOX, THE CONCLUDING PART OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Volume II. By the Right Honourable Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., O. M. New York, London, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1914, —xii, 433 pp.

This is the last of a series of six volumes by the same author, the first four entitled "The History of the American Revolution" and the last two "George III and Charles Fox." The author's volume on the early life of Fox might well be included with these, making in all seven volumes from his pen treating related subjects. Perhaps it is worth while for Sir George to have completed a task which he tells us has occupied a large part of his time since he retired from the House of Commons in 1897, if for no other reason than to leave evidence that there survives in England at least one Whig of the old school, who is enthusiastic in his admiration for Fox and the Americans but largely without sympathy for North and the King. One cannot help wondering, however, whether the author did not write this last volume in his series without referring again to many of the books which he doubtless read at an earlier period in his career. Few serious historical works have appeared in recent years that contain so little internal evidence tending to show that the author has made a substantial effort to inform himself concerning the topics of which he writes. There is a chapter dealing with the old parliamentary system, for example, which makes no reference to Porritt's volumes on that subject and contains little of the information which that author has made accessible. Indeed, Sir George seems to have taken a large part of the material on which he based the score of pages he allots to that subject from an early book by Thomas Oldfield on the boroughs of Great Britain (second edition published in 1794). He seems to have been unaware of the existence of Oldfield's more comprehensive treatise which was published a dozen years later.

Sir George's volume may make entertaining reading for

that species of provincial American patriot, particularly if he resides in the South Atlantic States, who likes to think of the Revolutionary period as an heroic age and who has an imagination sufficiently vivid to enable him to think of Greene and Cornwallis as generals of "antique honour, who might have stepped straight out of the earlier pages of Plutarch" (p. 95). But a student in serious search of a trustworthy account of these years of the American Revolutionary War will have to look elsewhere.

In view of the general character of the book, it is scarcely worth while to mention slips that are obviously the results of oversight or carelessness such as the use of "William" for "Richard" Price (p. 244), and of "access" where the context calls for "excess" (p. 256).

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

THE WITCH. By Mary Johnston. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914,—vi, 442 pp. \$1.40 net.

In this story Miss Johnston has returned to the romantic vein of her early historical novels. The opening chapter makes an uncanny impression with its description of the death chamber of Queen Elizabeth. The plot rapidly develops around Dr. Aderhold, a thinker in advance of his time, suspected of atheism and sorcery. England is shown torn with issues of thought and faith. Finally Dr. Aderhold and Joan Heron, a beautiful girl of strong and original nature, are accused of practicing the black art and of witchcraft. They are tried together and sentenced to death. But they escape and take ship for Virginia. The voyage is attended with misfortune, their identity is discovered, and they are cast adrift in an open boat. Being rescued from the sea, they live for years under adventurous circumstances in the Bahamas. At length they are taken back to England where they hope to escape notice. But they are recognized by one of their former prosecutors, again arrested, and the story ends with their return to prison.

There are several strong and vital characters in the novel, and the love episode between Aderhold and Joan is most appealing. The condemned pair come to an essentially dignified and noble, though unhappy, end. As a whole the work gives us further evidence of Miss Johnston's powers of imaginative comprehension of times past and leaves in the reader's memory a vivid impression of an Elizabethan world of adventure, religious controversy, and pitiless fanaticism.

WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA: A HISTORY, 1730-1913. By John P. Arthur. (Published by the Edward Buncombe Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Asheville, N. C.) Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton, 1914. 710 pp.

The mountain section of North Carolina has recently been the subject of considerable literary effort. Mr. Kephart's Southern Highlanders (1913) reached high water mark in the analysis of the land and certain classes of its population, while Miss Morley's Carolina Mountains, published the same year, is far above the average work of its kind in the presentation of certain aspects of nature. Mr. Arthur's volume is notable as the most comprehensive contribution to the history of western North Carolina and the only history of any of the distinctive sections of North Carolina. It, therefore, has an important place in the historiography of the state and deserves careful consideration.

The volume is divided into twenty-eight chapters. Of these six treat of physical characteristics and resources, four of early exploration and settlement, one gives an outline history of each county, eight deal with such topics of economic and social importance as schools, roads, customs, newspapers, Indians, and railways, one with pioneer ministers, one with the Civil War, one with political history, two with judicial matters, and three with striking events (including duels). Under these headings a vast amount of information is brought together in the collection of which the author has spared neither time nor energy. Yet the work is more of an encyclopedia or repository of miscellaneous knowledge than a history. However, it falls short of the highest standards of historical or encyclopedic excellence in several respects.

First of these is a limitation in the use and citation of sources. A notable example is the chapter on boundaries.

In this the account of the controversy with Georgia follows the article of Mr. Goodloe in the North Carolina Booklet; but the sources used by Mr. Goodloe, which are accessible in the Annals of Congress, are not referred to and apparently have not been used. Likewise, in discussing the Tennessee line a faithful and rather painstaking adherence to Strother's Diary (MS.) and the field book of Davenport (MS.) lead to the omission of another important source, the reports of the boundary line cases in the Federal Courts, which remain, perhaps, the clearest account of the controversy (103 Fed. Rep., 532; 116 Fed. Rep., 147). In the chapter on education mention is made of the Literary Fund but not of the amount of money spent on schools in the western counties under the Fund. though this could have been computed from the Comptroller's reports. In the chapter on newspapers the Rutherfordton Banner is not mentioned, a paper of influence prior to the war, nor some local papers since 1865, such as the Waynesville Courier. To the discussion of roads a vast amount of information might have been added by an examination of the private laws (sessional) and the reports of the Board of Internal Improvements.

In the use of secondary authorities there are two limitations. One is the omission of certain important works. Thus in the discussion of schools there is no reference to the articles on "Old Schools of Buncombe" that once appeared in the Asheville Citizen, nor to Dr. Battle's sketches of incorporated schools and academies published in the report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1896-97, nor to Raper's "Church and Private Schools." Consequently the chapter is very inadequate; it does not list all the schools that existed nor does it give the proper setting to some of those mentioned. It is also quite remarkable that Miss Morley should be quoted and cited to the exclusion of Mr. Kephart. Another limitation in the use of secondary authorities is the tendency to make long quotations; this gives to some pages almost the character of a compilation, notably the chapter on customs and manners in which much is quoted from Thwaites.

There is no correlation of political and social history of the region with general state history. The removal of the Cherokees was of vast significance in the growth of North Carolina; for instance, the sale of Cherokee lands was one source of the Fund for Internal Improvements. Did the western counties receive back in the form of road appropriations as much as the proceeds of the land sales warranted? Nor is the place of the mountain counties in the political history of North Carolina made clear. There is no adequate presentation of the sectional controversy between the eastern and the western counties, of the role of the mountain counties in that controversy as illustrated by the convention of 1823 and the deadlocks over the rebuilding the capitol and the charters of Yancey County, nor of the leadership of mountain politicians in the contest for manhood suffrage. There is no account of political parties and campaigns, although one of the founders of the Whig Party was Swain and the cleavage in the party was precipitated by Clingman. Since the close of the war the political role of the mountain counties has been remarkable for its lack of conformity with political tendencies in other sections of the state; the opportunity to trace and explain this situation is neglected.

For these reasons the "History of Western North Carolina" is not the final authority on the subject, although such a vast amount of information is brought together that the book will be indispensable in all working collections on North Carolina.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

PRINCIPLES OF TAXATION. By Hastings Lyons. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914,—v, 133 pp. \$.75 net.

This is a compact discussion of the principles of taxation. It is written primarily for the use of the business man who wants to be able to test the justice of the taxes to which he is subject. The discussion is clear and logical, dealing with principles rather than with details. A reading of the book will help the citizen to form definite views concerning what property should be taxed, the assessment of taxes, the question of classification of taxables, the separation of state and local taxation, and corporation taxation. There is also a

brief consideration of the single tax, the increment tax, and local option in taxation. The work was especially planned to throw light on what is fair in the taxation of securities.

The author's general attitude is conservative. Whether or not one agrees with all of his conclusions, it is certain that the little volume will be of great service in presenting to general readers some of the questions of expediency and justice which constantly demand consideration and solution in the framing of laws of taxation.

THE EDUCATION OF KARL WITTE, OR THE TRAINING OF THE CHILD. Edited with an introduction by H. Addington Bruce. Translated from the German by Leo Wiener. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1914,—xl, 312 pp.

In these days when hostile critics are decrying German "culture" of today with the same degree of enthusiasm with which Pan-Germanists are exalting it to the skies, this story of the education of a German pastor's son a hundred years ago has something of the interest of an historical document. The place of Karl Witte in the intellectual history of his country is sure. His long career at Halle, as teacher and writer on law, would suffice. Yet as time goes on that is all but lost sight of by a world of Dante lovers who see in him the man who first applied sound modern scholarship to the study of the Italian master, and who lived to give to an ever widening circle of readers a long series of Dante studies that mark the progress of Dante scholarship through over half a century. Eminent in his profession as a specialist on legal questions, he was even more eminent as a humanist revitalizing the reading of Dante by uniting enthusiastic appreciation with discriminating scholarship. German culture was seen in him at its best, and the world claims him.

But we must not lose sight of the immediate purpose of the present book published in English translation. It is the story of a precocious youth who received his doctorate at fourteen and never ceased during a long ripe career to fulfill all the expectations of his brilliant promise. The outcome gives sober worth to the simple account of how the German pastor father laid the foundation for his son's career. The book

closes with the boy's fourteenth year when he took his doctorate. The modern educator will perhaps wistfully ponder over his own task, that of handling boys in the mass, as he reads of how this boy was guided at every step by a father free to specialize on the task of educating one boy. It is the story of an exceptional opportunity to make the most of an exceptional individual. The ability of the mind of the child to grow and learn without weariness or staleness was supplemented by the sure tact of a father who never forgot he was educating a boy and not merely teaching him various subjects. Here the book is timely and vital. The comprehension of child life and of the moral factor, as well as the account of early language and science teaching, is an eloquent warning against machine methods made all but inevitable by the task of educating democracy in the mass. As an example of individual instruction, it is a document of great value.

ALBERT M. WEBB.

CONFEDERATE PORTRAITS. By Gamaliel Bradford. Illustrated. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914,—xix, 291 pp. \$2.50 net.

In this volume Mr. Bradford has subjected a group of the more important Confederate leaders to the same sympathetic and searching methods of character study that were employed in his Lee the American. The leaders selected are J. E. Johnston, Stuart, Longstreet, Beauregard, Benjamin, Stephens, Toombs, and Semmes. Each of the essays is illustrated by a portrait of the subject and is also accompanied by a chronological table of the principal events in his life. Davis and Jackson are not included for the reason that they were dealt with in the chapters on "Lee and Davis" and "Lee and Jackson" in Mr. Bradford's earlier book.

The Confederate portraits are not conventional biography. Mr. Bradford calls his art psychography. It is his aim "to facilitate to others * * * * the study of the human soul." He searches and sifts all available biographical material for the significant and the revealing; he weighs, appraises, and interprets. The outcome is a vivid portrayal of what he regards

as most distinctive and controlling in the characters of his subjects.

It is no small achievement to have brought together in two volumes these painstaking studies of eleven Confederate leaders. One great advantage of such a collection from the same fair and sympathetic pen is the opportunity afforded for comparison and for an understanding of the interplay of characters. Although readers may differ from Mr. Bradford's verdict in some cases, his desire to do justice is everywhere apparent. "The net result of careful study of Lee's companions in arms is to bring out more than ever the serene elevation of his greatness." Striking weaknesses are disclosed in the characters of some of the other noted Confederates, and the unfortunate effect of these failings upon the cause of the Confederacy is clearly shown. In style, Mr. Bradford's essays are a credit to American letters.

Ectogues of Sannazaro. Edited by Wilfred P. Mustard. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1914,—94 pp.

In preparing an edition of the piscatory eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro, Professor Mustard has presented to us an interesting sixteenth century variation of the classical type of the pastoral poem. Under the spell of his own beautiful water, the Bay of Naples, Sannazaro brought the shepherd lovers of Vergil to the seashore, and here the youthful boatman sings to the accompaniment of his shell instead of the pipe while he woos his mistress with gifts, not of flowers and honey, but of sea-moss and purple shells and coral. The most casual reading of the poems reveals them as close imitations of the Ecloques of Vergil. The same names appear, the poems have the same general form, the same amœbean character. Furthermore there is little attempt to disguise the effort on the poet's part to imitate the rhythm of Vergil's lines. But reminders of other poets, Latin and Greek, are not few. A fair example of Sannazaro's attempt to vary the work of the older poet is seen in the fourth ecloque, which is modeled on Vergil's sixth. Instead of a narrative of the beginnings of things in the mouth of Silenus, we hear Proteus telling the legendary story of various places around the Bay of Naples, Baiae, Naples, Cumae, Pompeii, etc. The fourth poem is inscribed to the son of his patron, Frederick of Calabria, the fifth to Cassandra Marchese, also of the court of Naples.

The introduction of the volume is devoted to collecting evidence of the popularity and influence of Sannazaro and imitations of his poems, while the commentary is rich in references showing his familiarity with the classical poets. Though not of general interest, this little volume will be welcomed by those who like now and then to stroll in the byways of literature.

W. F. GILL.

THE STANDARD OF PITCH IN RELIGION. By Thomas Arthur Smoot. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1914,—viii, 195 pp. \$1.00 net.

Present and former parishioners of Dr. Thomas A. Smoot in North Carolina and Virginia will be much interested in his recently published volume entitled "The Standard of Pitch in Religion." The unusual character of the title is explained by the analogies between matter and mind presented in the first chapter. Dr. Smoot's book accepts Jesus of Nazareth as "the norm of human life, the fundamental tone for all moral conduct, the standard of pitch for all time and for all men as pertains to morals and religion."

The book contains sixteen chapters on topics dealing with the spiritual life such as "The Friendly Attitude," "As a Man Thinketh," "Faith and Foundations," "The Life More Abundant," and "The Quest for Perfection." Dr. Smoot writes simply and clearly and uses many apt illustrations. His chapters contain much helpful thought upon some of the most serious problems of mankind. The work is a persuasive plea for firm faith in God and for the conforming of human life to the Divine will and purpose.

NOTES AND NEWS

The annual report of the North Carolina State Tax Commission was submitted to Governor Craig late in December. This document is of unusual importance. It recommends that all property in the State be listed and assessed at full value. Many important reforms in the administration of the taxation system are also advocated. These recommendations of the State Tax Commission should be read in connection with Dr. C. L. Raper's article in this issue of the QUARTERLY.

The Stewart and Kidd Company, Cincinnati, have published a volume entitled "Regulation" by W. G. Barnard. The author has made a study of eight politico-economic problems: unemployment, the labor problem, trusts, land monopoly, vast private fortunes, the high cost of living, the monetary system, and the tariff. In attempting to find remedies for hurtful conditions which have arisen in connection with these problems, Mr. Barnard makes some novel and radical proposals. His book will repay thoughtful attention. \$1.00 net.

The Mississippi Historical Society continues its excellent work in local history with volume XIV of its publications (University, Mississippi, 1914, 325 pp.). The chief feature of the volume is a study of "Mississippi and the Compromise of 1850" by Dr. Cleo Hearon, which shows wide use of sources, excellent organization, and a readable style. It is the most intensive study of politics in the cotton states at a critical period in American history.

Professor H. M. Henry of Emory and Henry College has recently published at Emory, Virginia, a monograph on "The Police Control of the Slave in South Carolina." This dissertation was submitted by the author to the faculty of Vanderbilt University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy. Dr. Henry's monograph represents the results of an extensive search for information

and will be of substantial assistance to future students of the history of slavery.

An important biography recently published by the Houghton Mifflin Company is the "Life of Thomas B. Reed" by Samuel W. McCall. Speaker Reed was an attractive and forceful character who exercised a direct and important influence on the history of the country. Mr. McCall, his Congressional associate and personal friend for many years, is well fitted for the task of biographer. He has given us both an able presentation of Reed's public services and an intimate account of his rich and humorous personality. The work is a friendly biography which happily combines the entertaining and the instructive. It is illustrated with many conventional and unconventional portraits of Reed and his friends and also with facsimiles of handwriting. \$3.00 net.

The Survey of January 2 publishes an article on "Songs and Ballads of the Southern Mountains" by Olive Dame Campbell. The paper gives many interesting quotations from ballads found by the author in the mountain regions of the South. It should be of interest to those who feel the historical and cultural value of collections of folk-songs and folk-tales.

Recent publications under the auspices of the Russell Sage Foundation are a volume on "Working Girls in Evening Schools" by Mary Van Kleeck, and one on "The Care and Education of Crippled Children in the United States" by Edith Reeves. The former is a careful study, based on a questionnaire, of the fifteen thousand wage-earning women in regular attendance upon the evening schools maintained by New York City. The latter presents information as to the methods used in the care of crippled children by many of the leading institutions of the country, and also brings together many plans, descriptions of institutions, and statistics of their work. Both books are well illustrated, and they sell respectively at \$1.50 and \$2.00 postpaid. Survey Associates, Inc., New York.

The Unpopular Review is one year old and seems to be making a steady growth. It is fresh and unconventional and thought-provoking. It finds a surprising number of agreeable fallacies to expose and professes an intention to disseminate some disagreeable truths. But its writers are so able and entertaining that one doubts whether it can achieve unpopularity. Among the matters discussed in the January number are the European war, the dancing craze, and the social position of the college professor. Henry Holt and Company, New York. \$2.50 a year.

The Academy of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, has published a volume of "Essays on Banking Reform in the United States" by Paul M. Warburg. Mr. Warburg is a member of the Federal Reserve Board and one of the ablest authorities on money and banking in the United States. His views had great weight in influencing the course of recent banking reform, and these essays collected from various periodicals show the extent and importance of his contributions to the solution of this national problem. Paper, \$1.50; cloth, \$2.00.

"Open Air Politics and the Conversion of Governor Soothem" is an effective discussion of political questions in story form. The author writes under the pseudonym of Junius Jay and is said to be a man eminent in public life. The story is of the adventures and discussions of a hunting party, consisting of a governor, a clergyman, a doctor, a retired general, a college professor, a guide, a cook, and the young man who reports the discussions. The Houghton Mifflin Company, \$1.25 net.

The United States Bureau of Education has published a bulletin on "The Rural School and Hookworm Disease" by Dr. John A. Ferrell. The pamphlet is well illustrated and gives much valuable information regarding the campaign against hookworm in the Southern States. Copies may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., at fifteen cents each.

